Thomas C. Hennings, Jr.

LATE A SENATOR FROM
MISSOURI

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES
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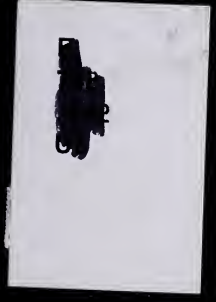

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Memorial Services

HELD IN THE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
OF THE UNITED STATES, TOGETHER WITH
REMARKS PRESENTED IN EULOGY OF

Thomas C. Hennings, Jr.

LATE A SENATOR FROM
MISSOURI

U.S.

Eighty-sixth Congress
Second Session

UNITED STATES
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Biography

THOMAS CAREY HENNINGS, JR., was born in St. Louis, Mo., June 25, 1903; attended the grade schools and Soldan High School of St. Louis, Mo.; was graduated from Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y., in 1924 and from the law department of Washington University, St. Louis, Mo., in 1926; was admitted to the bar in 1926 and commenced practice in St. Louis; served as assistant circuit attorney for St. Louis 1929–1934; served as a colonel on the Governor's staff 1932–1936; lecturer on criminal jurisprudence at the Benton College of Law, St. Louis, Mo., 1934–1938; elected as a Democrat to the Seventy-fourth, Seventy-fifth, and Seventy-sixth Congresses and served from January 3, 1935, until his resignation on December 31, 1940; did not seek renomination to the Seventy-seventh Congress; circuit attorney for the city of St. Louis 1941–1944; served as a lieutenant commander in the United States Naval Reserve during World War II from August 15, 1941, until he received a medical discharge on April 7, 1943, after service in the Pacific-Asiatic area; resumed the practice of law; elected as a Democrat to the United States Senate in 1950, reelected in 1956, and served from January 3, 1951, until his death in Washington, D.C., September 13, 1960; interment in Arlington National Cemetery, Fort Myer, Va.

Memorial Services
for
Thomas C. Hennings, Jr.

Proceedings in the Senate

TUESDAY, *January 3, 1961.*

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, I regret to announce the death of the senior Senator from Missouri, Hon. THOMAS C. HENNINGS, JR., on September 13, at his home in Washington. I have a resolution which I send to the desk.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The resolution will be stated.

The legislative clerk read the resolution (S. Res. 7), as follows:

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow and deep regret the announcement of the death of Hon. THOMAS C. HENNINGS, JR., late a Senator from the State of Missouri.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased, the Senate, at the conclusion of its business today, do now adjourn.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the resolution is unanimously agreed to.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I move that the Senate stand in adjournment until 12 o'clock noon tomorrow.

The motion was agreed to and (at 2 o'clock and 44 minutes p.m.) the Senate adjourned until tomorrow, Wednesday, January 4, 1961, at 12 o'clock meridian.

WEDNESDAY, *January 4, 1961.*

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Bartlett, one of its reading clerks, communicated to the Senate the resolutions of the House adopted as a tribute to the memory of Hon. THOMAS C. HENNINGS, JR., late a Senator from the State of Missouri.

Remarks by Senator Symington

Of Missouri

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, the people of Missouri and the Nation have lost an outstanding U.S. Senator, and a champion of the rights of man.

It is with a deep sense of loss that I join with my colleagues in the Senate in mourning the passing of my distinguished senior colleague, THOMAS C. HENNINGS, JR.

Those of us who worked with him here in the Senate will miss Senator HENNINGS' wisdom, his courage, and his leadership. And the people of Missouri will miss the services of one who served them long and well in Washington.

TOM HENNINGS served in public life for many decades. He was assistant circuit attorney of the city of St. Louis from 1929 to 1934. He then was elected to three terms as U.S. Representative from the 11th Missouri District, serving from 1935 to 1940.

In 1940, at the request of the St. Louis Bar Association, he became a candidate for St. Louis circuit attorney, and was elected. The following year, he volunteered for active duty in the U.S. Navy, and served for more than 3 years.

Following his discharge, he returned to private practice, as a senior partner of a distinguished law firm in St. Louis. He continued the active participation and leadership in public affairs that characterized his entire life, one of his major interests being the Big Brothers of America.

TOM HENNINGS reentered public life in 1950 when he was elected to the Senate. He was elected to a second term in 1956, helping to carry the State for the Democrats.

His was a truly distinguished career. He rose rapidly to a position of leadership here in the Senate and in his party. And he rendered distinguished service as chairman of the Rules and Administration Committee, and as chairman of

the Constitutional Rights and Juvenile Delinquency Subcommittees of the Judiciary Committee.

He had one of the great judicial minds of the Senate during the past decade. And he expressed on many occasions the conscience of the Senate as well, for he led many fights for the preservation of human rights and liberties essential to our democratic way of life.

His integrity was deeply respected by his colleagues.

His passing is deeply mourned.

We shall miss Senator HENNINGS, but take inspiration from a life of public service in the highest tradition of America.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the following editorials be printed:

[From the St. Louis Globe-Democrat, Sept. 14, 1960]

SENATOR THOMAS C. HENNINGS, JR.

The untimely passing of Missouri's senior U.S. Senator, THOMAS C. HENNINGS, JR., at the early age of 57 removes from the Senate a great constitutional lawyer, a highly intelligent and convinced liberal, and a courtly gentleman.

Senator HENNINGS was a gifted man who early showed the promise which he later fulfilled. Soon after his graduation from law school he became an assistant circuit attorney where he built an outstanding reputation in securing indictments and convictions.

In 1934 when he was only 31 years old he was elected to Congress for the first of three terms and retired in 1940 to run successfully for circuit attorney. In this important office he secured 2,340 convictions in 2,548 cases, a record which has never been equaled.

After service in the Navy overseas during World War II, he returned to the private practice of law in St. Louis, and in 1950 he was elected to the Senate after a bitter primary fight. He was overwhelmingly reelected in 1956.

TOM HENNINGS was proud of the fact that in the Senate he was the first to oppose Senator Joe McCarthy at the peak of the latter's career because he felt that McCarthy had ruthlessly violated the rights of the individual. In the Senate he also fought unceasingly to combat secrecy in public affairs, and he was an equally stanch fighter against the causes of juvenile delinquency,

one of his last public appearances in St. Louis several years ago having been on this subject.

In foreign affairs Senator HENNINGS sided with President Eisenhower and fought with particular vigor proposals which would have curtailed the President's power in foreign affairs, notably the Bricker amendment.

In recent years TOM HENNINGS was seriously handicapped by recurring illnesses. It was characteristic of him, however, even in his last desperate fight against cancer, that he remained active and dedicated to the very end, directing his office from his home and casting his vote as part of a pair on every important bill before the Senate.

Missouri and the Nation have lost an articulate fighter and a conscientious public servant. The Globe-Democrat voices the sorrow of the entire Missouri community and expresses its own and the State's condolences to Senator HENNINGS' lovely wife and to his distinguished and much loved parents.

[From the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Sept. 15, 1960]

SENATOR HENNINGS

THOMAS C. HENNINGS, JR., was one of the most gifted Missourians ever to serve in the Nation's Capital. First as a Member of the House and then as a Senator he made a public record of which this State can be immensely proud. He was that rare combination, a dedicated liberal with a keen and probing mind and a healthy respect for what is practical. His colleagues were well aware of his abilities; at the time of his death from cancer he was one of the most influential men in the Senate leadership.

The Senator's friends were convinced he had everything necessary for a distinguished political career. His scholarly bent was reflected in his extensive reading and in his felicity of expression on the speaker's platform. He was a redoubtable debater, who sometimes took a wry delight in trapping an opponent but who looked upon political argument with a sense of proportion that precluded malice. He had no taste for demagogy, and disliked campaigning. He was the first native St. Louisan elected to the Senate, and typified this city rather than Missouri.

A lawyer who made an outstanding record as circuit attorney in St. Louis 20 years ago, Senator HENNINGS served on the important Senate Judiciary Committee. This post furnished him with a base for various activities in behalf of civil rights and progressive causes generally. He was chairman of the constitutional rights subcommittee, and became known as an active de-

fender of individual rights and a supporter of the Supreme Court, particularly of its integration decision of 1954.

One of Senator HENNINGS' first assignments after his election in 1950 was an investigation of the Maryland "smear" election of that year, in which Senator McCarthy of Wisconsin played a part in the defeat of Senator Tydings, a conservative Democrat. In 1952 he was chairman of a subcommittee that investigated McCarthy's financial affairs; his findings became part of the case for Senate censure of McCarthy. In 1953 he led the successful fight against the so-called Bricker amendment, which would have limited the treatymaking powers of the President.

For these activities, for his inquiries into juvenile delinquency, for his fight in behalf of freedom of information and for his knowledge of constitutional law Senator HENNINGS became known nationally. But much of his influence flowed from less public activities. He was chairman of the Rules Committee, the first Missouri Senator to head an important committee in many years. He served as secretary of the Senate Democratic conference, one of the three top party positions in the Senate. But much of his effectiveness stemmed from his own character; although a liberal, he was accepted by the conservatives who constitute the real core of power in the Senate.

Senator HENNINGS was deeply interested in the electoral process, and after several years of effort was successful last January in effecting Senate passage of legislation to regulate spending in Federal elections, including primaries. One of his last official acts was to write a letter which was to be read at the Democratic State platform conference at Jefferson City. In this letter he expressed confidence that the Missouri electorate will refuse to be swayed by religious prejudice.

Missouri has had many good Senators, and several great ones, since Thomas Hart Benton and David Barton were elected in 1820. Senator HENNINGS' place in this company will be determined in time. But of his superior talent and devotion to the public welfare there can be no doubt.

[From the New York Times, Sept. 15, 1960]

SENATOR HENNINGS

Senator THOMAS C. HENNINGS, of Missouri, was a fighter who had the respect of his opponents. Such respect genuinely given is rare—and it makes the man who commands it more effective than most fighters for causes. In his decade in the Senate, THOMAS HENNINGS was effective in some important fights. He was

a pivot in the minority group that defeated the 1954 effort to curb the President's treatymaking powers. He fought successfully against bills designed to hobble the Supreme Court. He put himself squarely in the path of movements to lessen freedom of the press, freedom to vote and other freedoms. His death at the age of 57 is a misfortune both for his friends and for the country.

[From the Washington Star, Sept. 16, 1960]

SENATOR HENNINGS

Senator THOMAS C. HENNING, JR., dead at 57, was one of the many who have with genuine distinction combined the professions of law and politics. His training and practice in the former contributed greatly to the quality of his service for three terms in the House of Representatives (1935–41) and for the past 10 years in the other Chamber of Congress. In the Senate, he was identified as one of the leading liberal spokesmen of the relatively conservative Judiciary Committee. The extension and protection of civil rights and the problems of juvenile delinquency were matters of greatest personal and political interest to him. Never fiercely partisan in his approach to legislative questions, the Missouri Democrat's effectiveness in floor debate and in committee deliberations was enhanced as a result. Assistant Senate Democratic leader MANSFIELD spoke with accuracy for his colleague when he described Mr. HENNINGS as "a man whom we shall all miss, regardless of party."

[From the Washington News, Sept. 15, 1960]

SENATOR HENNINGS

Senator THOMAS C. HENNINGS, of Missouri, was robust in his thinking and in his activity. But cancer cut him down at 57.

He was afflicted with one of the worst types of this disease, from a medical standpoint, and had suffered with it for several years.

As a victim, he becomes merely another item in the dreadful statistics of this enigmatic ailment. As a man of prominence and ability, his death again dramatizes the complete impartiality of cancer and the steady toll it takes among our ablest citizens.

Senator HENNINGS was a man of sturdy principle. Those who most violently differed with his views had to respect the tenacity with which he held to them. Only cancer could overcome his tremendous vigor—and even against those odds he made a fight of it.

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES

[From the St. Louis Argus and Kansas City Call, Oct. 14, 1960]

TOM HENNINGS, AS I KNEW HIM

(By J. Delmas Escoe, assistant counsel, Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights)

Senator THOMAS C. HENNINGS, JR., of Missouri, whose voice in behalf of constitutional rights and human equality was recently stilled by death, was one of the finest and most sincere men I have ever known. I consider it a pleasure and a privilege to have known him and to have worked with him for the past 5 years.

TOM HENNINGS did more than merely champion the cause of democracy. He believed in it and he practiced it. To TOM HENNINGS the equality of man was more than a political issue. It was a way of life.

HENNINGS was not only an able Senator and an eloquent speaker, he was also an effective politician, but in many ways a paradox of the political prototype.

To a great degree, HENNINGS avoided the political spotlight. Many of his friends, including this writer, felt that he did not live up to his fullest political potential, that he would have made an excellent candidate for the Presidency or the Vice Presidency but TOM HENNINGS never sought these offices.

In discussing HENNINGS as a logical Presidential choice, Max Freedman, editor of the Manchester Guardian, recently wrote:

"In depth of conviction, skill and courage in debate, and profound dedication to civil liberty, Senator HENNINGS holds a position of unique distinction among the Members of the Senate. But he has cast aside all thought of larger political ambition."

I do not agree with Freedman that HENNINGS had "cast aside all thought of larger political ambition." It is an accepted axiom of political life that every public figure nurtures such thoughts and such ambitions. But what distinguished TOM HENNINGS from most politicians is that he kept these thoughts and ambitions to himself.

HENNINGS' advocacy of civil liberties and civil rights throughout his public career was in itself somewhat of a paradox. A descendant of wealthy slaveholders, TOM HENNINGS possessed the charm and manners of a southern gentleman. Indeed, he counted among his best friends several of his southern colleagues in the Senate. Yet, he never alienated his southern friends despite his constant sponsorship and support of civil rights legislation. This was because HENNINGS always used an approach of gentle persuasion rather than one of castigation.

But, TOM HENNINGS' knowledge of and devotion to the Constitution of the United States overshadowed his southern heritage. A brilliant lawyer, HENNINGS was considered the Senate's most emi-

nent authority on the Constitution. He fought for first-class citizenship for all simply because he felt that there was no place for second-class citizenship under our Constitution.

In the spring of 1958, HENNINGS sent the following message to delegates attending a Summit Conference of Negro Leaders in Washington, sponsored by the National Newspaper Publishers Association:

"Your presence here indicates a unity of purpose for the attainment of an objective too long denied Negro Americans the full and equal rights which are guaranteed to all citizens by the Constitution of the United States.

"I am deeply devoted to our Constitution and its noble precepts, and I believe, as you do, that those who deny to any citizen the rights and privileges granted by the Constitution make a mockery of that great document and affront the memory of our forefathers who conceived it as a charter for a free republic.

"It is for this reason that throughout my years of service, both in the House and the Senate, I have sponsored legislation to enforce the guarantees of our Constitution and to make it a living and vital force for all Americans, without regard to race, color or creed. As chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights, I pledge to continue my efforts toward this end.

"I wish you success in all your deliberations and I hope that this conference may mark the beginning of a new era for full equality and first-class citizenship for all."

This statement reflects as accurately as any that I have known TOM HENNINGS to make just how he felt about our Constitution.

HENNINGS was a liberal in the best sense of the word. He fought as avidly and as fervently for other liberal causes as he did for civil rights. He vigorously opposed McCarthyism and the use of the fifth amendment as an adjectival epithet. He attacked unwarranted secrecy in government and defended the right of the people to know what their Government is doing. He condemned the lack of due process of law in Federal loyalty-security proceedings. He defended the Supreme Court and fought legislation designed to curb the powers of that tribunal. He deplored the use of wiretapping and electronic eavesdropping devices as an invasion of the right of privacy. He was sharply critical of the police practice of holding prisoners and extracting confessions from them before they were properly arraigned and apprised of their constitutional rights. He urged repeal of the Connally amendment to U.S. participation in the International Court of Justice. He assailed the Department of Defense for its practice of considering preinduction activities in determining the nature of a serviceman's discharge. He denounced the State Department's passport policies which restricted a citizen's right to travel. He opposed the Bricker

amendment and limitation on the treaty-making powers of the President. He fought gag orders by some Federal agencies forbidding employees to complain to their Congressmen. He waged a continuous and successful campaign in the Senate for a "clean elections bill" requiring more adequate safeguards of the election process and more detailed public disclosure of political campaign financing. He urged Federal prison reforms and humane efforts to combat crime and juvenile delinquency without sacrificing the rights of the individual.

Shortly before his death, Senator HENNINGS directed the staff of the Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights to conduct a study of the constitutional rights of the mentally ill. In connection with that study he appointed Miss Belva T. Simmons of St. Louis, one of three Negro members of the subcommittee staff, to personally represent him at the first Missouri Conference on Mental Health which was held recently at Jefferson City. Miss Simmons was in Missouri in the interest of this study when HENNINGS died.

The measure of TOM HENNINGS is perhaps best described in the eulogies and tributes of those who knew him and worked with him.

Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the NAACP, wrote in a telegram to Mrs. Hennings: "Throughout his public career, Senator HENNINGS was a constant and uncompromising foe of all forms of bigotry. As a Senator he could always be depended upon not only to vote for human rights legislation but also take an active role in fighting for such measures. His work contributed significantly to the enactment of civil rights statutes by the Congress. He will be sorely missed by all Americans who believe that democracy is indivisible and is the cherished heritage of our entire citizenry."

Clarence Mitchell, director of the Washington bureau of the NAACP and one of HENNINGS' closest friends and advisers, in a beautiful tribute to him in his weekly newspaper column wrote: "Senator HENNINGS often said that he reached his decision to champion civil rights after a personal battle with himself. He won the battle."

Then Mitchell went on to quote the following passage from the Senate hearings on civil rights in 1959 in which HENNINGS took issue with a witness from Mississippi on the need for additional Federal civil rights legislation:

"May I have the opportunity to say you, Mr. Campbell, in the friendliest and most respectful and courteous way, that my own views about these problems are based upon the Constitution of the United States, the Holy Bible, a study of the history of this country and the fate of the free world.

"I think in this day and time when we find ourselves confronted with the power of Soviet Russia where communism is religion, we cannot afford to deny full equality to all our people."

Mitchell concludes: "Senator HENNINGS does not need to follow his own advice now. However, there are many of his colleagues who should understand that it is a legacy that they would do well to remember in the days ahead."

TOM HENNINGS is dead, but his faith lives on.

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, on behalf of all citizens of Missouri I wish to thank my colleagues for the magnificent tributes that have been paid to the late Senator THOMAS C. HENNINGS, JR. I am sure that his father, Judge Thomas C. Hennings, Sr., one of the outstanding citizens of my State, and his mother, a very great lady in her own right, and, above all, his wife, who contributed so much in the furtherance of his great career, will be extremely gratified to know of the affection and respect in which he was held by his colleagues, so ably expressed this afternoon.

Remarks by Senator Long

Of Missouri

Mr. LONG. Mr. President, today my colleagues and I will try within human limitations to express the life and work of the late Senator THOMAS C. HENNINGS, JR. With the observance of Lincoln's birthday still fresh in our minds, I am reminded of his eloquent Gettysburg statement which is so appropriate at this time:

> The world will little note nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here.

True, our Nation and, indeed, the world will never forget that Senator HENNINGS was a fighter—a fighter who had the respect of his opponents. Born in St. Louis in 1903, TOM HENNINGS graduated from Cornell University and Washington University Law School. He served the people as assistant circuit attorney in St. Louis, as Congressman, as circuit attorney, and as Senator.

His entire career in public service was marked by a high degree of independent judgment. The London Times summed up his career in the Senate with this statement:

> Senator HENNINGS emerged as an acknowledged expert on the Constitution and constitutional law, and fought this and other battles in a number of capacities, including chairman of the Senate Rules Committee and of Judiciary subcommittees on constitutional rights, juvenile delinquency, and Federal penitentiaries.

I first met TOM HENNINGS when we were prosecuting attorneys for our home counties in Missouri. It was with pride that I watched his meteoric rise in the Democratic Party and in the Senate of the United States. Therefore, it is with the deepest humility that I accepted my election by the people of Missouri to fill Senator HENNINGS' unexpired term.

One could speak at length on TOM HENNINGS' work in the Senate. But, to me, the high points of his career were his

fights in opposition to measures he thought contrary to the Constitution or to the welfare of the people. He could always be depended upon to protect the rights of the people from governmental interference. I know of no higher tribute that can be said of any man.

Upon the death of TOM HENNINGS many newspapers throughout our land and abroad spoke of the loss. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that editorials published in the London Times, Los Angeles Times, Rhode Island Pendulum, Salt Lake Tribune, the Louisville Courier-Journal and the Louisville Times be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[From the London Times]

SENATOR THOMAS HENNINGS: CHAMPION OF CIVIL RIGHTS

Senator THOMAS HENNINGS, who died on Tuesday at the age of 57, was the descendant of a wealthy slave-owning family but was probably best known as an ardent champion of civil rights.

He took his stand, writes our Washington correspondent, less on moral grounds than on the argument that the oppression of any minorities was incompatible with the Constitution. He emerged as an acknowledged expert on the Constitution and constitutional law, and fought this and other battles in a number of capacities, including chairman of the Senate rules committee and of judiciary subcommittees on constitutional rights, juvenile delinquency, and Federal penitentiaries. He was also a member of the Senate Democratic policy committee and the Democratic steering committee and chairman of the Democratic conference.

HENNINGS was more courageous than some of his colleagues; in 1958, for instance, he dared to tell his Missouri constituents that he was going to vote for substantial foreign aid, an unpopular area of spending in that State. He also led a subcommittee investigation into Senator McCarthy's finances and methods at the height of the latter's campaign.

Another of his interests was in reducing secrecy in Government operations. He insisted on the public's right to know how its business was being conducted.

THOMAS HENNINGS was born in 1903 in St. Louis and graduated from Cornell University and Washington University Law School, where he also coached athletics and lectured in English while a student. From 1929 to 1934 he was an assistant circuit attorney in St. Louis. In 1935 he was elected to the House of Representatives

and served until 1940 when he was elected circuit attorney of St. Louis, but a year later he resigned and served in the Navy until 1944. After a period in private law practice, he came to the Senate as the only Democratic candidate to unseat a Republican that year.

Lavish praise was expressed for him yesterday by a number of his colleagues, including Senator Kefauver, who said that "his fierce devotion to the principles of freedom of information, and to the highest honesty in government were only a few of his many fine qualities * * * he was an outstanding statesman with a brilliant legal mind."

HENNINGS is survived by his parents, his wife and two stepdaughters. His successor will be chosen at the general election on November 8.

[From the Los Angeles Times]

SENATOR HENNINGS DIED TOO SOON

Senator THOMAS C. HENNINGS, JR., died before he could be spared. He was only 57, but he really belonged to an older generation of Democrats, to the generation that interpreted the U.S. Constitution rigorously, believing it meant what it said, with especial emphasis on the parts defining the rights of the people of the United States over against the pretensions of the Government of the United States.

That he will become a saint of journalists there is no doubt. For he was the most effective congressional leader in the movement to tear away the paper curtain behind which so many Government bureaus operate in self-serving secrecy. Through his tireless efforts some holes were punched in that curtain and if he had lived a little longer he might have established at long last the people's right to know what their Government is doing for good or ill in the backrooms of the agencies. He was chairman of the Senate Constitutional Rights Subcommittee, and no committee was ever more precisely named.

Senator HENNINGS was also chairman of the Juvenile Delinquency Subcommittee and we on the Times have special reason to be grateful for his work in this capacity. When we were engaged in our Pulitzer Prize labor of establishing that most of the narcotics used in southern California are smuggled in from their Mexican source, Senator HENNINGS gave our findings his authoritative confirmation. He had brought his committee to Los Angeles, and afterward he was influential in prodding the State Department into some exchanges with Mexico City.

Missouri will be hard put to duplicate this Senator. Standing by and for the Constitution is not as fashionable as it used to be.

The best memorial to Senator HENNINGS would be a successor with his patient persistence and the courage to be a senatorial conscience.

[From the Rhode Island Pendulum]

THE PASSING OF A GREAT SENATOR

We have silently grieved over the death of U.S. Senator THOMAS HENNINGS, JR., of Missouri. And only now can we give some form of vent to it. When we first learned of his passing, which, was more than a week ago, we were so hurt inside on account of it that we were actually prostrate at the magnitude of the loss.

And debility took over. It was hard to shuffle along with the "as usual" of our grinding routine at the Pendulum. But even in its hurly-burly of men and machines, we heard our inner ear listening to the groan of a moan inside—and inescapable. Our grief was like a wind that tore at our heart.

We could neither cry nor write words of sorrow about it.

Tears and words must have their relevance—and where was the relevance in East Greenwich? Who even knew of Senator HENNINGS? There are now in the U.S. Senate no less than 100 in that so-called exclusive club.

But sometimes in life, regardless of the place and time, we are struck by death, and we the living become as dumb as death. Outwardly anyway. And nobody from the outside can know what is going on inside another person's heart. And besides, what can you say?

And yet, who of us, at one time or another has not felt the proximity of death? And sometimes, too, do we not wish we were dead along with the dead? No more to break. No more to rage. At such moments it feels good to feel with the feelinglessness of death with the dead. As though in a mime: in imitation of it.

Oh for the compassion that goes with the dead and to find identity with it.

Now we openly mourn the passing of TOM HENNINGS. Our grief, our sorrow may fulminate like the wind to no end and to no purpose—may not even be understood. But even so, we grieve and we mourn his passing.

But the truth is, as it must be, that his death, which came so untimely, is a great sorrow for all of us Americans, and not for us alone. Those of us who are imbued with the spirit of true democracy, which means in essence the rise of man to his great stature everywhere in the world, must mourn his passing as well.

We have all lost a valiant soldier in the war of liberation of humanity.

There was no greater champion of civil liberties in the United States than Senator HENNINGS. This is a big statement. But it is only as big as the Senator himself was. He was always fighting in the lists of civil liberties. He protected the constitutional rights of us all. He fought with a quiet but consistent courage. As a lawyer of distinction, he could use effective legal argument. The subtle way he used the legal scalpel won him the admiration and respect of many who opposed his ideas. And he did it all with no attention to himself.

Long before many a Johnny-come-lately—the political opportunities of today's fierce presidential campaign—he was at the forefront of the battle for civil liberties and civil rights. Now it seems everybody is on the bandwagon. "But for how long," with justified bitterness do we ask, "will they be on it?"

It seems ironic that he should have died at this time.

We came to know personally Senator HENNINGS while we owned a couple of newspapers in Missouri. And our admiration for him grew as we exchanged some correspondence with him. After a while our admiration hardly knew any bounds.

Senator HENNINGS was a genuine democratic nobleman. Not the phony kind. Not those who trace their ancestry, late or early, to some robber baron. His coat of arms was not of arms, but of great moral courage, of ethics, of culture, of civilized human accomplishments.

Senator HENNINGS was a true American nobleman. And his nobility was such as we can all have as Americans. Of treating others with absolute quality. And this is the way we can answer a Khrushchev, a Nasser—with their fake words, with their damnable lies.

We mourn his passing, and so should you all.

[From the Salt Lake Tribune]

"SHOW ME" SENATOR

In the death of Senator THOMAS C. HENNINGS, JR., the press of the United States has lost a stanch ally in its fight for freedom of information. As chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights, HENNINGS was quick to turn the spotlight on any Government agency which he believed to be interfering with the people's right to know.

HENNINGS' efforts, however, covered the whole field of civil rights—free speech, right of privacy, freedom of association, as well as freedom of information, As an article in Frontier magazine some months ago remarked, "Above all else, perhaps, HENNINGS

symbolized sanity in the era of inquest." And the procedures of his subcommittee have been described as a model for all congressional investigators to follow.

Born in St. Louis in 1903, the Senator exemplified a popular saying of his native State—"I'm from Missouri, show me." Congress needs men who take that attitude, providing, of course, that in being "shown" they follow the elemental rules of fairness and decency.

[From the Courier-Journal, Louisville, Ky., Sept. 16, 1960]

WAYS TO HONOR TOM HENNINGS

The country at large and the Senate in particular have suffered a grievous loss in the death of THOMAS C. HENNINGS, JR., of Missouri. He had been in the Senate for scarcely a decade, yet already had made a deep impression as a champion of the constitutional rights of the people. He fought for recognition of the equality of all citizens—an all-embracing cause, which included an incidental but strong hostility to the bureaucratic tendency to conduct public business without fully informing the public.

We hope that his State will pay a suitable tribute to his memory by choosing a successor having the same interests, even if not the same abilities. There aren't many men of such caliber in Missouri or anywhere else.

Congress itself, of course, owes a memorial to the Senator, but not one of those in marble or bronze of which Washington already has at least enough. Mr. HENNINGS' last important legislative achievement was the passage by the Senate June 25 of his clean elections bill—a measure proposing chiefly to introduce honesty in the reporting of campaign expenditures. The House never acted on the measure. If the next Congress should make the bill a law, there could be no more suitable commemoration of a notable career on Capitol Hill.

[From the Louisville Times, Sept. 15, 1960]

SENATOR HENNINGS, HUMANITARIAN

In his 10 years in the U.S. Senate, THOMAS C. HENNINGS, JR., attained a status that was unique. A liberal who was personally acceptable to the conservatives, he was a militant believer in justice.

Justice to him was not an abstract principle. It meant equality of opportunity, the scrupulous observance of the individual's

rights—including the right to know what goes on in Government. It meant emphasizing economic rather than military aid to the Nation's allies. It meant giving the underprivileged young people in America's cities a chance to develop as good citizens.

In all these fields he struggled with more or less success against the forces of intolerance and reaction. His death from cancer removes from the Senate Judiciary Committee the most effective opponent of the conservative domination of Chairman James O. Eastland, of Mississippi.

Respected by his colleagues as an outstanding authority on constitutional law, he will be remembered best as a humanitarian who, believing in his country's greatness, believed also that man might aspire closer to perfection.

Mr. LONG. Mr. President, on the last day of TOM HENNINGS' life he dictated and had delivered to the Democratic State committee in Missouri a statement dealing with religious tolerance. This appeared in the Washington Post and Times Herald of September 18, 1960, under the title "Last Testament of TOM HENNINGS."

I ask unanimous consent that it be printed.

[From the Washington Post, Sept. 18, 1960]

LAST TESTAMENT OF TOM HENNINGS

(By Senator THOMAS C. HENNINGS)

(This letter, the last written by the Missouri Democrat before his death on September 13, was sent to John W. Inglish, chairman of the Missouri Democratic State committee. Senator HENNINGS dictated the message from his hospital bed.)

On the occasion of the adoption of our State Democratic platform, containing and reiterating those underlying principles found in the philosophy of Thomas Jefferson, may I congratulate the distinguished and able members of our State committee and express a reaffirmation of my ever-increasing faith in our great party.

As your senior Senator and as chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights, I am always concerned with the preservation of those rights bestowed upon us through the organic law of the land. I have found that the greatest protection for our rights and freedoms lies in the hands of our people and in the manner in which they exercise these rights.

In the one sentence comprising the first amendment to our Constitution our Founding Fathers directed the course of American life. I would like to repeat it now: "Congress shall make no

law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances."

Noting that the very first restriction placed upon the Congress creates the right to worship as one chooses, and noting that article I of the Constitution of our great State emulates this right in specific and emphatic words, we must judge it to be a very prime right of our society of freemen.

I am confident that the wise electorate of Missouri will confirm this constitutional provision on freedom of religion by refusing to accept the religious beliefs of a candidate as a worthy election issue. In clear and concise language, article VI of our Federal Constitution laws down this mandate: "No religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States." And in article I of our State constitution we say in words of equal clarity: "No person shall on account of his religious persuasion or belief be rendered ineligible to a public office of trust or profit in this State."

These are, of course, restrictions on governmental curtailment of the freedom of religion in our land; they do not enchain the private thought or public utterances of those who would for religious causes condemn or distrust his fellow man. But the moral theme of the law was sounded by Thomas Jefferson before the creation of our Union. In a draft for his State legislature of a bill for establishing religious freedom, he wrote, in part:

"The proscribing any citizen as unworthy the public confidence by laying upon him an incapacity of being called to offices of trust and emolument, unless he profess or renounce this or that religious opinion, is depriving him injuriously of those privileges and advantages to which, in common with his fellow citizens, he has a natural right."

Does it not justifiably follow that the voter who would require of a candidate that he be or not be of a given religious faith, or belong or not belong to a specific church, is enacting a requirement in conflict with a basic precept of our democracy?

When Jefferson said that "truth is great and will prevail if left to herself; that she is the proper and sufficient antagonist to error," he not only called upon those of his time to search for truth but upon our great party which was to be created in the image of his enlightened views.

I have faith in my fellow citizens, an unshakable faith in their determination and ability to seek and find the truth behind any issue before expressing their ultimate opinion at the polls. I have faith that false issues will be discarded and that the true ones will be faced with calm appraisal and solved only on the basis of

proper consideration and intelligent reasoning. I have faith that unwarranted emotionalism and prejudice will be cast aside as sores which beget only solutions for which posterity may sadly pay and long suffer.

Lastly, I have faith and every confidence that our great Democratic Party, founded on truth and consistently the bearer of truth, will elect its candidates in our State and on a national level, and will present the Nation with its next President of the United States.

Mr. LONG. Mr. President, on Bill of Rights Day last December 15, 1960, memorial services for Senator HENNINGS were held in St. Louis. I ask unanimous consent that a digest and other material of these services provided by the chairman, Rabbi Ferdinand M. Isserman, be printed.

DIGEST OF MEMORIAL SERVICES FOR THE LATE HONORABLE THOMAS C. HENNINGS, JR.

The Senator THOMAS C. HENNINGS, Jr., Tribute Committee, organized under the chairmanship of Dr. Ferdinand M. Isserman, rabbi of Temple Israel, St. Louis, Mo., consisted of the following: Honorary chairman, Gov. James T. Blair; honorary vice chairman, Hon. Forrest C. Donnell, Senator Edward V. Long, and Senator Stuart Symington; chairman, Mayor Raymond R. Tucker, Rabbi Ferdinand M. Isserman, and Irving Dilliard; members of the committee, Michael J. Aubuchon, Joseph P. Clark, Congressman Thomas B. Curtis, Russell Dearmont, Dr. Elmer Ellis, Fred A. Eppenberger, Thomas J. Guilfoil, David M. Grant, John Raeburn Green, Judge Roy Harper, Mark R. Holloran, Bishop Ivan Lee Holt, Gale F. Johnston, Congressman Frank M. Karsten, Hon. Aloys P. Kaufmann, Louis LaCoss, Jacob M. Lashly, John H. Lashly, Samuel H. Liberman, J. Wesley McAfee, Federal Judge George H. Moore, H. Sam Priest, the Very Reverend Paul C. Reinert, S.J., John I. Rollings, Morris A. Shenker, Chancellor Ethan A. H. Shepley, Congresswoman Lenor K. Sullivan, Rev. Dr. O. Walter Wagner, Judge Randolph H. Weber, and Mrs. Margaret Bush Wilson.

The committee held a meeting in Mayor Tucker's office in St. Louis and planned to dedicate a plaque in memory of the late Senator THOMAS C. HENNINGS, JR., at the Soldier's Memorial in St. Louis, and to hold a tribute meeting in Graham Chapel of Washington University on December 15, Bill of Rights Day. The plaque was scheduled to be dedicated at 10 a.m. on Thursday, December 15, at the Soldier's Memorial in St. Louis. The inscription on the plaque reads as follows:

THOMAS C. HENNINGS, JR.

"THOMAS C. HENNINGS, JR.

"(June 25, 1903—September 13, 1950)

"U.S. Senator from Missouri, 1950–1960; officer in the Armed Forces; forceful advocate of clean elections; protagonist of good government; effective champion of human rights; valiant fighter for civil liberties; vigorous foe of religious and racial intolerance; counselor of delinquent youth; supporter of the Supreme Court; good and tried friend; believer in the equality and dignity of all men, in the spiritual succession of Thomas Jefferson."

Rabbi Isserman presided at the morning dedicatory service. The following invocation was given by Dr. O. Walter Wagner, executive director of the Metropolitan Church Federation of St. Louis:

"There was a Lincolnesque quality about the religion of TOM HENNINGS. Both men shunned the pretense of attending regular public worship for political purposes. Both men exhibited a deep reverence for life and expressed their religion in uncompromising loyalty to high ethical principles. In the privacy of their offices both men, in great crises, cried out to the Living God. These mountainlike men help us to look behind our pretensions and make us mindful to match our lives with theirs. Tall men were they and stalwart, like towering pines deep rooted by the lash of many a gale, they stood serene, majestic. Men said they died—but such men never die; they march the blazing trial in step with God, down through the vast eternities. O God, help us, and all in future generations will come here to stand in awe of the courageous convictions of THOMAS HENNINGS, and may we emulate him by our devotion to the extension of freedom and human dignity, to the end that all men shall stand tall and free and unafraid. Amen."

In his opening remarks, Rabbi Isserman said:

"The meetings this morning at the Soldier's Memorial and this evening in Graham Memorial Chapel of Washington University were organized so that St. Louisans will have a chance to pay their tributes to the memory of the late THOMAS HENNINGS, JR., one of the most distinguished sons of our city. Because his final services were held in Washington, D.C., and only a handful of St. Louisans were present, many in our city believed that they should have a chance to pay their homage to and show their love for this great Senator. To meet this need in the hearts of many people, this Hennings memorial program was organized. On December 15, Bill of Rights Day, because Senator HENNINGS was such an outstanding champion of the rights of man, the two functions were held to honor his memory. The committee membership was limited, because everyone was ready to serve on it. Mayor

Tucker and Irving Dilliard served with me as chairman. The mayor held the first meeting in his office, and there the decisions were made to unveil the memorial plaque at the Soldier's Memorial in the morning, and to hold an evening tribute meeting in the Graham Chapel of Washington University. Very fittingly present here this morning besides the family of the late Senator HENNINGS are his parents, Mr. and Mrs. Thomas C. Hennings, Sr., his widow, Mrs. Thomas C. Hennings, Jr., his sister and her husband, Mr. and Mrs. David Teasdale, and others. Present also this morning are leaders of the city's business, professional, civic, and cultural life, as well as many holding public office. Mrs. Thomas C. Hennings, Sr., mother of the later Senator, will unveil the memorial plaque. It contains the following inscription: 'THOMAS C. HENNINGS, JR. (June 25, 1903–September 13, 1960). U.S. Senator from Missouri, 1950–60; officer in the Armed Forces; forceful advocate of clean elections; protagonist of good government; effective champion of human rights; valiant fighter for civil liberties; vigorous foe of religious and racial intolerance; counselor of delinquent youth; supporter of the Supreme Court; good and tried friend; believer in the equality and dignity of all men, in the spiritual succession of Thomas Jefferson.'"

Mr. Morris Shenker, a close friend of Senator HENNINGS, and executor of his estate, paid the following tribute:

"Mr. Chairman, I am deeply appreciative of the privilege of addressing this gathering in tribute to the late Senator THOMAS C. HENNINGS, JR., in whose memory his family and friends have gathered here today. When the last chapter of a human life has been closed we quite properly set apart time to review, to consider, and to evaluate, and in so doing we come to an appreciation of that which has been well done. In every step of his long and varied career of public service Senator HENNINGS has exhibited the highest regard for the rights of his fellow man, large and small, rich and poor alike. Senator HENNINGS was born in 1903, graduated from Cornell and Washington Universities and was admitted to the Missouri bar in 1926. He was an assistant circuit attorney under Judge Franklin Miller from 1929 to 1934; was elected to the U.S. Congress wherein he served three terms, and answered the call of the citizens of Missouri to assume the office of circuit attorney where he served in 1940 and 1941, when he volunteered for active duty and served as lieutenant commander in the Pacific combat theater. He was elected U.S. Senator in 1950 and reelected by the greatest majority ever given a candidate, up to that time, in 1956. In the U.S. Senate he was a member of some of the most important committees and invariably when others were timid and right and justice demanded he had the courage to speak as was so well said by the New York Times: " 'It was good to see courage in a room

at a time when many men are timid.' Senator HENNINGS came to the support and led the fight that defeated the Bricker amendment, the effect of which would have been to limit the power of President of the United States. He led the fight successfully to preserve the power of the U.S. Supreme Court against all attacks, and realizing the injustices of uncurbed congressional investigations, while firmly believing that those investigations are necessary, he sponsored codes of fair procedure for congressional committees which code provides that each person that is accused receive the opportunity to face his accuser. He was a recognized authority on constitutional law and was at all times ready to defend the principles of justice under a government of laws and not of men. He will long be remembered for his amiability and consideration for the feelings of others. He never lost the common touch and displayed always that warm, friendly, considerate spirit and that wonderful sense of humor which were his. His admirable human qualities won him devoted friends. He had the quality and power of forgetting for the time self, friends, interests and relationships and fight for others stronger perhaps in the cause of justice and equality."

Mayor Tucker, of St. Louis, read the following telegrams received from President Eisenhower, and President-elect John F. Kennedy:

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, D.C., December 14, 1960.

Rabbi FERDINAND ISSERMAN,
Temple Israel, Kingshighway and Washington, St. Louis:

Through Congressman Thomas B. Curtis I have learned of the meeting to be held in St. Louis today in memory of my friend, the late Senator THOMAS C. HENNINGS, JR. In his lifetime of devoted service to Missouri and the Nation, Senator HENNINGS won the respect and admiration of his countrymen everywhere. His death was a loss to America and the free world. It is an honor to join in this salute to his memory and to express my gratitude for his work.

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER.

WASHINGTON, D.C., *December 14, 1960.*

Rabbi FERDINAND M. ISSERMAN,
St. Louis:

I should like to join in the tributes to Senator HENNINGS. He was always quick to recognize and applaud the contributions of others to human rights and human dignity and so it is particularly fitting that we offer a memorial to his career of dedication to public service. He will always be missed. His deep sympathy for the underprivileged and his keen understanding combined to produce a valiant champion of democracy. In a larger sense his memorial

is the generations of Americans who will be better able to experience full economic and political freedom and equality.

JOHN F. KENNEDY.

The meeting closed with the following benediction by the Very Reverend Ned Cole, dean of Christ Church Cathedral in St. Louis:

"O God, who through humble men has revealed Thy will, continue to raise up among us such persons. May the Lord bless us, and keep us. May the Lord make His face to shine upon us, and be gracious unto us. May the Lord lift up His countenance upon us, and give us His peace and His strength, this day and evermore. Amen."

The evening tribute meeting was held in Graham Chapel of Washington University. Music was furnished by Howard Kelsey, university organist, and the university choir, under the direction of Gil Brungardt. Mayor Raymond R. Tucker made the following introductory remarks:

"Ladies and gentlemen, we are gathered here this evening to pay tribute to the late Senator THOMAS C. HENNINGS, JR. As we do so, I am sure that all of us who knew Senator HENNINGS are very conscious of a deep sense of loss. To the family of Senator HENNINGS, whose loss was much greater and more personal, we can only extend our deepest, and most sincere sympathy. It must, however, be a source of consolation to those who knew and loved Senator HENNINGS, to realize that our Nation is a better place in which to live because of him. Even as we pay tribute to Senator HENNINGS this evening, we know that our words are unequal to the task. The most lasting, and the most fitting tributes to Senator HENNINGS, are to be found, not in our words, but in his accomplishment during a lifetime of public service. In the words of Lincoln: 'The world will little note, nor long remember, what we say here.' However, the world can never forget the contributions made by Senator HENNINGS. We have only to recall the record of the U.S. Senate during the past decade, and we discover, in that record, monuments to Senator HENNINGS which are more lasting than any of marble. It is in this spirit, I believe, that we are gathered here this evening. We know, full well, that the greatness of Senator HENNINGS is far above our poor power to add, or to detract, by our words here tonight. Senator HENNINGS' place in history is assured, and it is a place of honor. Thus we are gathered here not only to pay tribute to Senator HENNINGS, but also to recall the principles to which he devoted his life, and to reaffirm our faith in those principles. We are assembled here to dedicate ourselves to the unfinished work which Senator HENNINGS so nobly advanced."

The scripture reading from the Old Testament was read by Chancellor Ethan A. H. Shepley of Washington University, and from the New Testament by Bishop M. W. Clare. Letters of tribute were read by Mr. Morris Shenker, which were received from President Eisenhower, President-elect John F. Kennedy, Vice-President-elect Lyndon B. Johnson, Congressman John W. McCormack, House majority leader, Chief Justice Earl Warren, Senator Estes Kefauver, the staff of the late Senator Hennings, Gov. James T. Blair, Jr., of Missouri, Father Paul C. Reinert, president of St. Louis University, and many others.

The program consisted of the following tributes: "Scholar and Public Servant"—Elmer Ellis, president, University of Missouri; "The Challenge of His Senate Record"—Edward V. Long, U.S. Senator from Missouri (due to the illness of Senator Long, his speech was read by Thomas J. Guilfoil); "The Lawyer"—Federal Judge George H. Moore; "The Supporter of Constitutional Principles"—Irving Dilliard, former editor, editorial page, St. Louis Post-Dispatch; "The Man"—Rabbi Ferdinand M. Isserman. The benediction was given by the Right Reverend Lloyd A. Sullivan, Epiphany of Our Lord Church. A reception in honor of the Hennings family, and for the committee, was held at the home of Rabbi and Mrs. Ferdinand M. Isserman, 82 Aruncel Place, Clayton, Mo.

Scholar and Public Servant

(By Elmer Ellis, president, University of Missouri)

Mr. Chairman, friends, I welcome this opportunity to pay personal tribute to the memory of Senator Thomas C. Hennings and to express the great satisfaction we at the University of Missouri felt in his career. It is no exaggeration to say that we considered him a distinguished member of the community of scholars. He possessed many traits that we would have our students exemplify in the way of personal characteristics. He was one of us in a very real sense. As a teacher and athletic coach at Washington University, while working on his law degree, he became acquainted firsthand with many of the problems, opportunities, and responsibilities of the university scholar.

Mr. Hennings did not merely pay lipservice to the values of education. An avid reader and student, his speeches were full of biblical and classical quotations, which illustrated rather than decorated his basic thought pattern, because they came from ready familiarity with the original sources. Vituperation was absent from his public utterances, because his learning provided him with more effective tools for achieving the ends sought. Educated both in

the liberal arts and in the law, he exemplified their values in the causes which he chose to advocate.

Senator HENNINGS had faith in scholarship and in free discussion. He spoke in the tradition of Jefferson and Lincoln when he said: "It is my belief that the first amendment is a positive admonition to Americans to debate, discuss and argue, and indeed to disagree; to participate in diverse associations; to constantly engage in free inquiry."

He was admired for his courage in defending his convictions, and all saw in him the degree to which the educated man can make his ideals an effective force in American life. It took courage as well as skill to oppose a fellow Senator whose methods threatened American freedom, but Senator HENNINGS stood fast against such methods and can be credited with pointing the way to their ultimate censure by the Senate of the United States. Again, the Senator played an important role in defeating those who would curb the powers of the Supreme Court of the United States because of decisions defending the individual's right to civil liberties. Within the Senate itself, he led successfully the fight for civil rights legislation in 1957.

His whole career bears testimony to the depths of his convictions. On one occasion he said: "It is automatic with me to be in sympathy with the rights of the individual." Through his efforts the U.S. Army modified its procedure in checking on the loyalty of its members, so that the individual enjoyed a greater measure of protection without the Army being handicapped as a result. He sought to guarantee voting rights to Negroes in States where they were disenfranchised by segregationist maneuvers. In such things he sometimes stood with the majority of fellow Senators, often with the minority, but he always placed principle above political expediency.

We admired Senator HENNINGS because he was a humanitarian. He spent much time and effort studying the causes and possible remedies for juvenile delinquency. The establishment of a fund to carry on such work in the years ahead reveals how deeply he was committed to the preservation and development of America's greatest resource, its young people.

Commendable also were his efforts to keep the way open for full and free expression of the will of the American people. Senator HENNINGS joined a number of other Senators in an effort to change procedure in the Senate so that a filibuster could be halted by simple majority vote for closure after 15 days. Only last January he succeeded in getting through the Senate a bill to control spending in Federal elections, including primaries. Although these efforts were blocked by opposing forces, they found a warm response on the part of the American people. Because they must be classi-

fied as unfinished business, they point up the loss suffered by the untimely death of Mr. HENNINGS.

In the academic community Senator HENNINGS is remembered best perhaps because he demonstrated that the liberally educated humanitarian can be an effective force in American life. Certainly that was one of his greatest contributions. As one commentator put it, he was a "rare combination: a dedicated liberal with a healthy respect for the practical." In Senator HENNINGS' case, a respect for the practical in no way blunted his idealism; it served only to make his ideals more effective. A Washington dispatch immediately after his death mentioned that he was one of the few Members on the liberal side who was personally acceptable to conservative Members of the Senate. Because of that they were willing to see him moved into positions of influence within the Senate itself, and from those vantage points he was able to make his influence felt. Certainly, he pointed the way to a more effective role on the part of the liberal scholar in American life.

Senator HENNINGS identified himself with many of our activities at the university that were in the line of his major public interests. In 1955 we had a conference on juvenile delinquency, at which he delivered the keynote address and stayed throughout to play a leading role in its deliberations. When the order of the COIF was conferred upon him by the chapter of the order in our law school, he read to our students and visiting lawyers and jurists a scholarly legal paper that stimulated thought and discussion. In January 1958 he contributed to our Law Review another scholarly treatise "Detention and Confession: the Mallory Case."

Because we at the University of Missouri feel so close to him, we are especially pleased that Mrs. Hennings and her family decided to place the Senator's papers in the western historical manuscripts collection at the university where they will become available for study on the part of historical scholars. They will serve as a fitting memorial to an able and distinguished statesman and to a large degree assure that his place in history will be better understood and more adequately explained than those statesmen whose records go into more or less permanent hiding.

THE CHALLENGE OF HIS SENATE RECORD

(By U.S. Senator Edward V. Long)

It is with a feeling of the deepest humility that I speak on this occasion. This is no ordinary ceremony. We memorialize here tonight a great U.S. Senator, who was one of Missouri's most distinguished sons.

Anyone who studies the career of the late THOMAS C. HENNINGS, JR., even casually, soon becomes aware of the fact that a major portion of his adult life was devoted to the service of his fellow citizens both in peace and in war.

Since my appointment and election to succeed Senator HENNINGS in the U.S. Senate, I have had the opportunity to study something of his philosophy of government and to learn of his activities in the Senate.

As a result, I feel most humble succeeding a man of his attainments, his courage, and his statesmanship. If ours is a better government today, and our Nation a better place for free men to live, it is because TOM HENNINGS walked and worked among us.

If public officials feel more keenly the need for keeping our democracy vital and alive by making their public record and their actions available we can thank TOM HENNINGS for his great contribution to this principle.

If our election laws are improved so that the guarantees of freedom and fairness are paramount it was TOM HENNINGS who made adherence to these principles and philosophies a major part of his program.

TOM HENNINGS believed and he fought for complete freedom of the press to inquire fully and critically into every phase of our public activity. He believed that if the people were to be really free, they must also have unrestricted and uncensored information. No bureaucrat or public officeholder was too big to be exempt from this probing by our press. He believed that withholding of information from the public was in actuality one of the major crimes against freedom. Our great Senator knew that secrecy in government was a potent weapon of dictators.

TOM HENNINGS wanted our rivers and our forests to belong to all the people and to be used for their benefit, and he fought exploitation of our natural resources by anyone.

TOM HENNINGS' approach to the vital human problems of health, housing, social security, civil rights, and civil liberties mark him as one of the great constructive liberals of our time.

It has been said that some men live so that the age in which they live is lifted and thereby all men walk on higher ground. TOM HENNINGS' life, which he devoted to his State and his Nation—that he devoted to the welfare of all mankind, irrespective of race, creed, or color—has raised all of us to a higher plane of public service and to a greater appreciation and love for our fellow man. His life and his record is a challenge and an inspiration to all of us who follow after him.

I am honored to have a part in paying tribute to the memory of this great Missourian.

THOMAS C. HENNINGS, JR.

Thomas C. Hennings, Jr., the Lawyer

(By Judge George H. Moore)

Writing in the New Yorker magazine only last year, that most astute and thoughtful political commentator and Washington observer, Richard Rovers, stated that there was no doubt in his mind, were a vote to be taken among all the Members of the U.S. Senate as to the ablest Senator among them, Thomas C. Hennings, Jr., would easily prevail.

A bold remark to be sure, yet one that appears to have a solid foundation and to be supported by the consensus.

But why was this man's ability so marked in a body not lacking in high talent? I submit that the answer which inevitably suggests itself is that, while Senator Hennings was a man of charm, compassion, and intellect—all of which greatly contributed to his success in the Senate—this judgment as to his being first in ability stems from the fact that he was primarily a skilled and far above average lawyer—a man who exemplified in his practice, and carried with him into his years in the Congress, the highest qualities and ideals of our profession.

Hear from men who knew him and observed him, not as a political figure, but as a working member of the bar and a skilled prosecutor. The answer is always the same—a man of impressive dignity and courtroom appearance; a master of the English language and of persuasive logic; and the possessor of a warm personality that made men instinctively rely on him. Although years have passed, his successful arguments in criminal cases are still remembered around the courts of this city, where he achieved success at an early age.

However, there is far more here than the mere picture of a successful courtroom advocate. The witnesses testify further to an innate kindness and courtesy; of his sense of the dignity of man even in the tortuous atmosphere of the criminal courts; and of his belief in the responsibility of the prosecutor toward the defendant's rights as well as those of the State.

Finally, and most marked, we hear from all sources not only of his skill, judgment, and fearlessness, but of his acute sense of integrity and honor. Never did the public outcry deter him from dismissing a case when he was convinced of the defendant's innocence; and his well-known hatred of sham and hypocrisy lasted throughout his lifetime. As one of his contemporaries in the circuit attorney's office expressed it to me, Thomas Hennings "never compromised with the truth, and since the lawyer's ultimate function is to bring out the truth he easily fulfilled that ultimate."

Therefore, what we see is a picture of a highly gifted lawyer who had he not turned to other fields would unquestionably have

been a leader of the American bar. Yet even in the Senate, the interests of the legal student and skilled practioner were always with him. Quick to sense injustice, his advocate's skill stood him in good stead on many occasions. Or consider the scholar's intense and faithful interest in the problems of the Senate's Judiciary Committee; his patience with the technicalities of legislative drafting; and his deftness and clarity in debate of the often highly technical or emotional problems that came before the Congress—all the mark of the true lawyer imbued by a sense of the dignity and obligation of his profession.

Senator HENNINGS' legal background and his association is impressive. He had been for many years a partner in the law firm oldest in continuous connection of any firm in this State. Its roll of members through the years has included many illustrious names at the bar—Chief Justice Warwick Hough; John H. Overall; John F. Green; Judge Ernest F. Green, to say nothing of John Raeburn Green and the Senator's own father. Is it any wonder that a man nurtured by such a professional background should have loved and respected his profession, and with his native abilities, become skilled in it?

But beyond the pride he took in his profession, which all of us who knew him well realized, THOMAS HENNINGS took deep nourishment from his roots in the American past. Always to be observed in him was a sense of his connection with history, and the need to maintain his own integrity so that faith would have been kept with that past.

Here then was a man whom the legal profession first trained and brought to fulfillment, and then presented to the Nation so that his great destiny might be achieved. We of the law must always take great pride and comfort in the fact that, such is the enduring nature of our profession that from our ranks we can call forth and dedicate such a man as THOMAS C. HENNINGS, JR., a statesman, but above all, a lawyer in the highest sense of the word.

THE SUPPORTER OF CONSTITUTIONAL PRINCIPLES

(By Irving Dilliard)

The Psalmist likened time and life to the grass of the fields. "In the morning it flourisheth, and groweth up," he said. "In the evening it is cut down and withereth." The Old Testament poet was contemplating a life markedly different from the one which brings us together now. The New Testament disciple, Matthew, came far closer to describing the good works of THOMAS C. HENNINGS, JR., when he said: "First the blade, then the ear,

after that the full corn in the ear." For no man is perfect, and even the best can hardly hope to improve on Isaiah's well-remembered plan of: "Precept upon precept; line upon line; here a little and there a little."

In his decade in the Senate of the United States—and that is the period of his life that particularly concerns us at the moment for it is the period of the flowering of his devotion to constitutional principles—the late senior Senator from Missouri guided by the rule of first the blade, then the ear, and finally the full corn, if not for him then for others. And to achieve it he knew that it could be only by precept and line—a start now, a gain later, and still further advances tomorrow and the next day for those who would come after him if not to all in his own time.

For it was no accident that found THOMAS C. HENNINGS, JR., successfully sponsoring the bill in Congress for a memorial to President James Madison. If one of the Founding Fathers were to be given a status of preeminence over the others, surely the high honor would go to James Madison. As Madison worked to give us so many of the constitutional principles by which our Nation has lived—and by which it has survived—so it was Senator HENNINGS who stood by those principles and protected them when others, seeing through a glass darkly, if indeed seeing at all, would have torn apart those long-cherished principles and even would have discarded them.

Senator HENNINGS had little more than taken his oath as a Member of the Upper Chamber of Congress when he found himself almost wholly in charge of an investigation, under the Constitution, into the qualifications and the behavior of one of the most notorious of his colleagues.

It was an ordeal that other Senators had avoided but THOMAS C. HENNINGS saw it through. He did his duty fairly, thoroughly, and tellingly. In the end the carefully documented report of the subcommittee which he headed was a factor in the undoing and the repudiation of that reckless, irresponsible, demagogic misleader, and misrepresenter of far too many American citizens.

When the Eisenhower administration came into office in 1953, it was Senator HENNINGS, a member of the other major political party, who stood out as the strongest protector of the authority of the President to conduct, as the Constitution provides that he must do, the foreign relations of the United States. The leaders of Mr. Eisenhower's own party in the Senate sought to limit severely the authority of the President in the vital field of international affairs. They did this by proposing and striving to pass the would-be Bricker amendment to the Constitution. In committee and on the Senate floor, it was THOMAS C. HENNINGS, JR., who fought the battle for constitutional principle. In the end the

struggle against the detractors of the Presidency was won by a single vote, and that makes the role of Senator HENNINGS the more significant. To contemplate the paralyzing obstacles that would have arisen in the wake of the adoption of the Bricker amendment is to measure the debt which President Eisenhower and his successors owe to the Missouri Senator whose memory we are here to honor tonight.

THOMAS C. HENNINGS was a realist in political life and so he became aware early in his career in Congress of the need for our country to face the hard realities about elections and the laws which regulate them. Recognizing the paramountcy of free elections as a constitutional principle, he studied long and deeply over our electoral shortcomings and the means of correcting them. He sought ways to stop corruption of the ballot and to guarantee clean and honest elections, resulting from campaigns whose controlled costs were reasonable and not prohibitive. It was a service that will benefit us as long as our representative institutions survive.

Great as were these good works of the late Missouri Senator, still another must be recorded, and one doubtless of yet greater importance. For it was THOMAS C. HENNINGS, JR., who more than a score of his colleagues combined turned back the congressional raiders who sought to cripple the Supreme Court of the United States with the Jenner-Butler bill to take away some of the Supreme Court's most vital jurisdiction. The Jenner-Butler bill's backers did not agree with certain of the Supreme Court's decisions in sensitive areas such as race relations and internal security. They showed their disagreement and displeasure by proposing to take away from the Supreme Court its right to hear appeals which historically have been the Supreme Court's responsibility.

It was a bitter battle, and in time it came to occupy the close attention of the whole Senate which on the final tests, several by narrowest margins, stood with Senator HENNINGS. Every vote counted in the end, and a man less stanch in his convictions than THOMAS C. HENNINGS, JR., would have let down somewhere along the way and the battle to protect the Supreme Court against vindictive trespass would have been lost. The Chief Justice, the eight Associate Justices, and all the judges of our country and their uncounted successors may be grateful that Senator HENNINGS held the constitutional line when colleagues on both sides of the aisle tried to tear a gaping hole in it.

In the aspects of his career now under consideration it is not for us to go into the services of Senator HENNINGS in the fields of juvenile betterment, prison reform, civil service merit system, and international parliamentarianism all of which knew him as an effective friend. Yet we must cite one more area and in doing so

we must, so I believe, raise it to our highest level of all. This was in the field of the individual freedoms of the citizen that are guaranteed by the Bill of Rights whose 169th birthday our Nation celebrates today. For in the decade that he served us in the Senate, Washington knew no more persistent defender of free speech, free press, free assembly, free petition, and free religion, with free religion's twin protections of the separation of church and state, and the prohibition of religious tests for public office. He was just as firm against unreasonable searches and seizures, against the belittling of the crucial protections of the fifth amendment, and against any erosion of the rest of the constitutional guarantees that make a reality of the presumption that an accused person in free America is innocent until proved guilty in a court of law where due process is observed to the fullest.

At a time when the popular thing was to discount if not to minimize our civil liberties, Senator HENNINGS led the Senate in the creation of a special Judiciary Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights. He, with the assistance of an able staff which he assembled and eminent counsel which he chose, conducted these hearings in such a way as to awaken many American citizens to the dangerous and often subtle attack on their rights by officials who either did not care about ultimate effects or who were ready to subvert constitutional principle. Wherever the assault was launched there appeared Senator HENNINGS to turn it back. And so he took up arms against the invasion of privacy by wiretapping, against the denial of passports by those who would use the control of passports as a weapon in the cold war, against inhumane deportations and exclusions of refugees and other worthy applicants to our shores. He was quick to see official conduct that might be suited to totalitarian regimes in the dictator states but had no place under a Federal Union which he helped round out to 50 members bound together by the Constitution and its Bill of Rights.

THOMAS C. HENNINGS, JR., no longer sits in the Senate of the United States, but his good works will serve generations to come years without end. First the blade, then the ear, after that the full corn in the ear.

THOMAS C. HENNINGS, JR., THE MAN

(By Dr. Ferdinand M. Isserman)

How fitting and appropriate it is that we are assembled here on the campus of Washington University, of whose law school THOMAS HENNINGS was a graduate, completing the 3-year course in 2 and, at the same time, coaching its track team. I am not carried away by the spirit of friendship when I state as I do that THOMAS

HENNINGS was of prophetic stature. For the Hebrew word, "Navi," or prophet, means to speak forth the truths of God under any and all circumstances. Would we not equate these with the basic rights of the individual? Did not Jefferson mean that when he wrote about unalienable rights? What are the qualifications of a prophet in the Biblical sense? One thing is certain: he is not a soothsayer or fortune teller. He does predict the future, inasmuch as he endeavors to assay the impact of the conduct of man on the course of human events. The prophet has a sense of kinship with all human beings, like Amos, who rose above the nationalism of his surroundings and said that the Ethiopians were precious in the sight of God. The prophet must have a creative imagination so that he can place himself in the position of his neighbor, feel his woes, experience his agonies, respect his dignity, understand his ambitions and hopes, and be sensitive to his faith. A prophet must be the spokesman of the underprivileged. He must speak for those who cannot speak for themselves. He must battle for human beings who are too feeble to battle for themselves. He must champion their cause in the face of entrenched power, whether of despotic individuals, of tyrannical states, or of oppressive races. He must be aware of the equality of all peoples and ready to uphold it. To do all these things, the prophet must have the greatest of human virtues, the quality of moral courage, absolute fearlessness in speaking the right, absolute indifference to the criticisms and carping of the classes or the masses, always loyal to his convictions, standing for justice as God gives him to see it, undeterred by organized power of men or organizations or states, immovably dedicated to the truth.

Certainly in this sense THOMAS HENNINGS was a prophet. He fought for the Supreme Court when its right to protect the individuals hated by the mob was questioned. He revealed a sense of internationalism when he successfully led his fellow Senators to cooperate with the President of the United States in defeating the Bricker amendment. As chairman of the Prisons Committee of the Senate, he personally visited the prisons, spoke with the inmates, heard their side of the injustices of society against them, and successfully secured legislation to improve the method of sentencing.

As circuit attorney of St. Louis at a time when society was greatly disturbed by crime waves, he was an efficient prosecutor, but carried out his office without rancor or sensationalism. He did not endeavor to exploit the weaknesses of juvenile delinquents for his own aggrandizement. He believed in firm measures to protect society against youthful desperados, but he also recognized society's failures to them. So he became active in the Big

Brothers Association, hoping to supply to wayward, loveless and friendless youth a friend who would take a personal interest in them and who would fill the vacuum in their lives. For this he received a national award of the Big Brothers Association of America, and was hailed, "Big Brother of the Year." He took steps for the suppression of the marihuana traffic in a desire to protect youth from its degenerating influence. He served with me on the board of the Urban League of St. Louis a generation ago to help Negroes overcome the injustices from which they were suffering in his city. It was the era of segregated schools and universities, and of the frustrations from limitations of employment. Only deadend jobs which provided no future were available for Negroes. His sensitive spirit never allowed him to forget these injustices. In the Senate he was a leader in civil rights legislation. Due to his persuasiveness and popularity among his fellow Senators, the bill enforcing the voting rights of Negroes all over this country was passed. His devotion to the Bill of Rights in the Constitution was demonstrated frequently on the floor of the Senate and by the legislation he sponsored, and was well symbolized by his proposal approved to create a James Madison Memorial like those of Lincoln, Washington, and Jefferson in our National City. James Madison, inspired by Thomas Jefferson, was the actual father of the Bill of Rights. For its incorporation in the Constitution, he was responsible.

Tom Hennings was insistent on the people's rights to know what transpired in their governments, and led the fight to nullify secrecy of information in government bureaus and among government officials. For this he will long be regarded as a saint among journalists, and the Missouri Press Association gave him a special award.

He recognized that incompetent government would be robbing the people of their birthright, so he strove for clean elections, and secured passage of a bill for the merit system among public servants. For this he was recognized by the Hoover Commission and given one of their awards. His devotion to the Constitution of the United States he learned here at this university, sitting at the feet of professors universally recognized for their brillance. He was the most effective champion of constitutional rights in the Senate in his generation, an was hailed as the outstanding defender of the rights of man in our day.

He was a native of St. Louis, and the enlightened spirit of this city, its harmonious blending of people of many nations, its unsurpassed record in interfaith relationships, its peaceful and unequaled transition from segregation to desegregation, molded his philosophy, even as he helped to sustain its moral atmosphere. The spirit

of the '48ers which made our community the heart of liberalism in America, and this university a nationally honored champion of academic freedom, were factors in the personality of THOMAS HENNINGS. He opposed the burning of books at our information centers. He was so loyal to the Constitution that his own firm defended the right of bigots to exercise freedom of speech. He was a member of a church both here and in Washington, and elected to have the service over his remains not in the historic walls of the Capitol, but in a Presbyterian Church of which he was a member. In this way did he affirm his religious convictions.

He was so modest that few among his fellow townsmen know of his many accomplishments, or his stature in Washington. As much as I admired his public service, I was not fully aware of its many constructive ramifications. He was not seeking the applause of the masses, or even the commendation of his contemporaries. For one of the greatest Senators of his time, he was the least publicized. His ability and achievements were appreciated more in the Halls of the Senate than in the hearts and minds of the people of Missouri whom he served with such distinction, and who reelected him to office. He had a great capacity for friendship. He fought issues and not men. He was not a crusader who condemned and made appeals to emotions, but a pleader who directed his arguments to the reason of man. His last message issued on the day of his death was addressed to the people of this State not to abuse the freedom of religion by making religion a qualification for public office. Among his friends and intimates were men of every race, nationality and creed. Negroes regarded him as a national hero. Perhaps his religious philosophy can best be expressed in those verses from the Old Testament which are repeated in the New, "Love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, with all thy soul and with all thy might," and, "Love thy neighbor as thyself."

Senator THOMAS C. HENNINGS, JR.'s life is a glowing page in the annals of man. His record of many achievements is a diadem long to be cherished by the people of the city of his birth. His public service must be a source of joy to his dear ones, to his widow, their children, and to his distinguished parents. Theirs is the satisfaction of knowing that their son, husband, and father served humanity well. His will provided for a foundation to help youth, but his devotion to freedom is a perpetual spiritual foundation, from which all of us can draw strength. "The ablest exponent in the Senate of the the philosophy of Thomas Jefferson and of Woodrow Wilson," wrote a journalist about him. Appreciation for his life and work can best be expressed by intensified loyalties

to the basic rights of mankind. All of us in the spirit of noblesse oblige, must man the ramparts to shield them. Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty. Such vigilance TOM HENNINGS revealed in his life, and by emulating his example, we honor best his memory.

SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES,
Washington, D.C., December 12, 1960.

Rabbi FERDINAND M. ISSERMAN,
Temple Israel, St. Louis, Mo.

MY DEAR RABBI ISSERMAN: I regret very much that our Court sessions prevent my attendance at the memorial ceremonies for Senator HENNINGS.

Senator HENNINGS was not only a devoted public servant but had a passion for constitutional government and the place of the individual in it. The judiciary had no better friend. His devotion to the Bill of Rights and his insistence upon its observance made his career in the Senate of the United States one of the most important in the history of that great body.

Trusting that the memorial service will be as heart warming as his patriotic service, and with kind regards to all, I am,

Sincerely,

EARL WARREN.

WASHINGTON, D.C.
December 13, 1960.

Rabbi FERDINAND M. ISSERMAN,
St. Louis, Mo.

I regret my inability to be present to render a tribute in person to the late Senator THOMAS C. HENNINGS, JR. The Nation has great cause to grieve because, through his passing, it has been denied further benefits of his keen mind, his forceful character, and his noble purpose. More than just a distinguished Senator, TOM HENNINGS was one of the most effective champions of true individual liberty in this century; a stout foe against those who abused freedom in freedom's name; and a steadfast advocate for those whose freedom was abused. We who yet live cannot do less than to dedicate ourselves to the task of keeping alive his boundless faith in the determination and ability of the American people to seek and find the truth, to discard false issues and to solve their problems on the basis of proper consideration and intelligent reasoning.

ESTES KEFAUVER,
U.S. Senator.

JEFFERSON CITY, MO.,
December 15, 1960.

Rabbi FERDINAND M. ISSERMAN,
St. Louis, Mo.

Thank you for your telegram. Deeply regret inability to be in St. Louis today for memorial service honoring Senator HENNINGS whose outstanding record as statesman and lawyer during his years of public service will long be remembered by all of us. I am very sorry it is impossible for me to participate in the tribute being paid him.

Sincerely,

JAMES T. BLAIR, Jr.,
Governor.

WASHINGTON, D.C.,
December 14, 1960.

RABBI FERDINAND ISSERMAN,
St. Louis, Mo.:

We, who were members of the staff of the late Senator THOMAS C. HENNINGS, JR., wish to take this opportunity to express our deep respect and devotion to the memory of our beloved Senator.

Day by day, as we worked with Senator HENNINGS, we came to know his deep wisdom and unwavering dedication to Jeffersonian democracy.

His courage and brilliance were an inspiration to each of us.

His death has left a void in our hearts which will never be filled.

THE STAFF OF THE LATE SENATOR THOMAS C. HENNINGS, JR.

EXCERPT FROM LETTER FROM FATHER PAUL C. REINERT, PRESIDENT OF ST. LOUIS UNIVERSITY

I join with all the other friends and admirers of TOM HENNINGS in testifying to the lasting contribution which he made to good government and to the protection of human rights and civil liberties throughout a distinguished public career. May his life inspire others to similar careers in the service of all of our people.

EXCERPTS FROM TELEGRAM SENT TO MAYOR RAYMOND R. TUCKER, FROM CONGRESSMAN JOHN W. MCCORMACK, HOUSE MAJORITY LEADER

Senator HENNINGS was one of my most valued friends. He was not only a dedicated public official, but a great American. As a result of his service in both branches of Congress he has left a most valuable imprint upon the pages of American history.

EXCERPTS FROM LETTER FROM VICE-PRESIDENT-ELECT LYNDON B. JOHNSON

I cannot think of a more appropriate day to have this meeting on than Constitution Day, as TOM was a great defender of its principles both as an individual and as a Senator and chairman of the Rules Committee and Constitutional Rights Subcommittee of the Senate. He was a great Senator and an even greater friend.

Mr. LONG. Mr. President, for many of us here in this Chamber, for Missourians and for people throughout the breadth of this land, we lost a great friend and an articulate champion with the death of TOM HENNINGS September 13, 1960. The very least we can do is hold this memorial service today. But, to quote President Kennedy:

In a larger sense, Senator HENNINGS' memorial is the generations of Americans who will be better able to experience full economic and political freedom and equality.

Remarks by Senator Mansfield

Of Montana

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, it is with a deep feeling of sadness that I rise to pay tribute to my good friend the late Senator from Missouri, THOMAS C. HENNINGS.

TOM HENNINGS was a close friend, and our friendship extended over a period of many years. He was not only a close friend, but he was a truly remarkable man in the real sense of that word.

TOM HENNINGS had a keen legal mind. He had an amazing capacity to go to the heart of an issue and to lay forth all of the implications in a logical, clear, concise manner.

This talent he devoted to the service of his country, both in the House of Representatives and in the Senate. And this talent also brought him to the Judiciary Committee, where he became chairman of one of the most important of its subcommittees—the Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights.

It is significant that he sought this position. TOM HENNINGS was a man who believed deeply in the absolute necessity of strengthening constitutional rights and of taking every possible step to assure that they applied equally to all persons, regardless of race, creed, or color.

He thought that the dignity and integrity of the individual was one of the most important of all of the aspects of our form of government. And he also thought that the legitimate reason for forming a government was to protect that dignity and integrity.

TOM HENNINGS has gone, and we will not again have the pleasure of his physical presence on the Senate floor. But, in a larger sense, he has not gone, because the work that he did lives after him and will remain to help guide our footsteps for many years to come.

We are, as we should be, paying tribute to him in these memorial services, but the greater tribute will be to rededicate ourselves to the promotion of the basic constitutional rights in which he so strongly believed.

The first act of the Committee on Rules and Administration in the present session of Congress was to adopt a resolution expressing its deep regret and sorrow on the death of its colleague and former chairman, the late Senator from Missouri, THOMAS C. HENNINGS, JR. I ask unanimous consent that the text of that resolution be printed.

RESOLUTION OF THE COMMITTEE ON RULES AND ADMINISTRATION OF THE U.S. SENATE EXPRESSING ITS DEEP REGRET AND SORROW ON THE DEATH OF ITS COLLEAGUE, AND FORMER CHAIRMAN, THE LATE SENATOR FROM MISSOURI, THOMAS C. HENNINGS, JR.

Whereas THOMAS C. HENNINGS, JR., was serving with distinction as chairman of the Committee on Rules and Administration of the U.S. Senate when, on September 13, 1960, he was called to rest by his Creator; and

Whereas the people of the State of Missouri as well as those of all the other States of the Union will long remember his dedication to democratic principles and his fight for human rights; and

Whereas we his colleagues on the Senate Committee on Rules and Administration will sorely miss his inspired leadership and devoted participation in our work: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the members of the Senate Committee on Rules and Administration assembled, That we hereby express our deep personal loss, and that we extend to his widow, his family, and his other loved ones our heartfelt sympathy.

Members of the Committee on Rules and Administration: Mike Mansfield, Carl Hayden, B. Everett Jordan, Howard W. Cannon, J. J. Hickey, Claiborne Pell, Carl T. Curtis, Kenneth B. Keating, Jack Miller.

Done on January 18, 1961, as the first order of business at the initial meeting of the committee in the 87th Congress.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that following my remarks a statement by the distinguished senior Senator from Wyoming [Mr. McGee] in tribute to the Honorable THOMAS C. HENNINGS, JR., be printed. Senator McGee is unavoidably absent on official business.

STATEMENT OF SENATOR MCGEE IN TRIBUTE TO THE LATE HONORABLE THOMAS C. HENNINGS, JR.

I wish to join my colleagues today in paying tribute to a man who was a truly distinguished Member of this body—the late Senator THOMAS HENNINGS, of Missouri.

Being a rather junior Member of the Senate, I did not have the opportunity to know this great Missourian as well as I wished, but I knew of him and the high principles for which he stood long before I ever became a Member of the Senate. His distinguished career in the House of Representatives and the things he stood for during his illustrious Senate service were well known to all, far and wide.

The monumental achievements of Senator HENNINGS on the Senate Rules Committee which resulted in the clean elections bill that passed this body during the last Congress was but one of his many outstanding endeavors.

As a member of the Senate Judiciary Committee, he was a constant champion for civil and human rights; and as the chairman of the Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights, he led the fight against executive secrecy and for freedom of information. Senator HENNINGS was acutely aware of the close relationship between traditional rights guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States and the right of the people to know what their Government is doing. His lifetime experience and dedication to due process of law, free speech and free press, and equal protection of the laws, found a natural connection with a right to know.

In his arduous committee work, he was not interested in the glare of publicity which often accompanies investigative inquiry—rather he felt it more important to establish a clear, detailed legislative record in the form of committee surveys, studies, hearings, and reports that was vital in the long run in order to form a basis for effective legislation.

As the Members of this body know, the fight for open Government, devoid of secrecy in all but the most critical areas, is a formidable one. Senator HENNINGS thought it was one

worth fighting, and he has left us an example and guideline to carry the fight forward.

It was an honor to have served with, and known Tom Hennings. We miss him dearly; but we will not forget his goals, his aims, and his dedication to them.

Remarks by Senator Dirksen

Of Illinois

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, one of our God-given endowments is the one of remembrance, and I have often puzzled how impoverished this world would be if we did not have the capacity for remembrance and could not summon up out of the wells of memory those things we would like to remember.

As I think of TOM HENNINGS, I like to remember him as I first saw him in 1935. He came to the House of Representatives 2 years after my advent to that body. He was vigorous, he was trim, and there was energy in his stride. He reflected vigor. There was a booming quality about his voice, and there was that friendliness that endeared him to Members on both sides in that distinguished legislative body.

I quickly learned that TOM HENNINGS lived up to every expectation as a good lawyer, as a dedicated legislator, and as a warm friend.

He had two attributes that impressed me then and continue to impress me. The first was his complete dedication to what he deemed to be sound policy, and the intense effort he devoted to it. This attribute comes sharply to mind, for within the past hour I have submitted for reference a proposal for a constitutional amendment in the nature of what is known as the Bricker resolution. Of all the scholarly, documented speeches that were made on that subject, probably none was more profound than that of TOM HENNINGS, and no one pursued the subject with greater vigor than he. He was convinced that my position was wrong. I was convinced that his position was wrong. But he advanced his cause like the great warrior that he was, and in every one of his speeches there was a reflection of the amount of time and energy that he devoted to that subject.

The other attribute that Senators will remember is how patiently and vigorously he labored in behalf of the clean elections bill. What a commentary it was upon his patience. For 11 days he stood every day on this floor to advance that bill. I fought him every step of the way, and I regarded him as a noble protagonist of his cause, because never did he lose his restraint, never did his patience falter. I have never seen TOM HENNINGS, JR., become irritated or frustrated.

He was the chairman of a subcommittee that handled the very difficult and controversial civil rights bill. In our consideration of that highly controversial bill there were times when he might have been frustrated, times when he might have displayed some anger, times when he might have become impatient because of the slow progress that was being made in the committee, yet never once did I see him lose that fine quality of restraint, no matter how tedious the going and how difficult the cause.

That is how I shall remember TOM HENNINGS all the days of my life—big in body and heart, amiable and patient, energetic and dedicated, friendly and scrupulously fair, always courteous, and ever courageous. He was indeed a happy warrior.

Remarks by Senator Robertson

Of Virginia

Mr. ROBERTSON. Mr. President, the passing of a Senate colleague always causes me deep concern. This concern is especially pronounced when we lose a colleague who was in the prime of life; whom we admired because of outstanding mental attainments, loved because of a capacity for warm friendship, and whose untimely death caused a loss to the entire Nation.

One of the truly great heroes of World War II was Maj. Thomas D. Howie, of Staunton, Va., who landed with the 116th Infantry of the 29th Division on Omaha Beach and led his battalion into St. Lo where he was killed. In a letter written to his wife just a few days before his death, Major Howie praised the 116th Infantry and said:

> I am both humble before God and proud before my fellow men that America produces the breed of men I have had the privilege to go into action with.

Such a man was THOMAS C. HENNINGS, JR., of Missouri—a brave naval officer as well as a brilliant attorney and an outstanding statesman.

Before entering public life, Senator HENNINGS compiled a fine record as a student and an athlete. A star half-miler at Cornell TOM HENNINGS completed his undergraduate academic work with equal vigor and success. He entered law school at Washington University, finishing the normal 3-year course in 2 years, while teaching criminal law and public speaking as well as coaching the track team.

This versatile man entered private practice in 1928 and in the next year became assistant circuit attorney in charge of felony prosecutions. After 6 years of service, in which he compiled a record of 80-percent convictions, TOM HENNINGS

was elected to Congress from Missouri's 11th District. Having served for three terms, he retired from Congress in 1940 to run successfully for circuit attorney, in which office he secured 2,340 convictions in 2,548 cases—a record which still stands in Missouri.

Shortly after the attack on Pearl Harbor our esteemed former colleague took a leave of absence to enter the Navy. He served ably until 1944 when physical disability incurred in the line of duty resulted in his discharge.

After a vigorous fight both in the primary and in the general election, TOM HENNINGS was elected to the Senate in 1950. His outstanding service to Missouri and to the Nation returned him to office in 1956 by more than double his 1950 margin of victory.

During his 10 years in the Senate, TOM HENNINGS demonstrated a principle which I have frequently stressed—the value of practical training and experience in political science. It is only in the hard school of experience that a man learns how to translate theory into practice, whether it be in literature, art, a profession such as law, medicine, or engineering, or the profession of political science, too often referred to as politics. In law school, TOM HENNINGS learned the theory of law, in trial work he learned how to apply those theories. He brought to his service in the House of Representatives his splendid experience as a lawyer, which included a comprehensive knowledge of constitutional law. It is no wonder, therefore, that in his 10 years of service in the Senate, as a member of the Rules Committee, of which he became chairman, and as an outstanding member of the Judiciary Committee, he made many contributions to our country's progress. His ability to debate the causes which he espoused created comfort in proponents, concern in opponents, and admiration in us all.

Over and above all else, Mr. President, TOM HENNINGS was endeared to me by reason of the fact that he loved and admired the South, having had Virginia ancestors who served

in the Confederate Army and a Virginia relative who in more recent years was an outstanding member of the Lynchburg, Va., bar. Whenever I think of Tom Hennings, I shall think of him as a Virginia gentleman, and, in the Old Dominion, that is our highest tribute.

Remarks by Senator Thurmond

Of South Carolina

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I rise to say a few words in behalf of my good friend, the late Senator THOMAS HENNINGS. I did not know Senator HENNINGS before coming to the Senate, but I was not here long before I learned to admire him, although I violently disagreed with him on many subjects.

Senator HENNINGS was a true public servant and a loyal American. He was devoted to his friends and was loyal to his friends, and he was esteemed by them.

Senator HENNINGS possessed the qualities that the Supreme Court of South Carolina said are essential for a good lawyer.

First, integrity. Integrity is the heart of character. A man may possess many qualities, but without integrity he is most certainly doomed to failure. Senator HENNINGS was a man of strong integrity.

Second, industry. A man may have integrity, and he may have other qualities, but if he is not willing to work he will probably not go very far. Senator HENNINGS was a prodigious worker.

Third, knowledge. Senator HENNINGS was a man of broad experience. He was widely read. He could discuss with interest and intelligence almost any subject on the scene today and in past history.

He possessed these three essential qualities of a good lawyer to a marked degree.

He was an attractive man. He was a great athlete, and possessed a fine physique. He was personable. He attracted people and was attracted to people.

Personally I felt many times that his heart was with the South in many matters before the Senate, but, because of his constituency, he felt he must represent them.

It was with much regret that I learned of the death of Tom Hennings. He was fortunate in having a devoted and loyal and fine wife, who was a great inspiration to him. I know that she has undergone a great deal of suffering in the loss of her fine husband, and she has my deepest sympathy.

Remarks by Senator Kerr

Of Oklahoma

Mr. KERR. Mr. President, 98 years ago Abraham Lincoln delivered a historic speech at Gettysburg. Honoring those soldiers who had given their lives on that battlefield, he recognized that they had written a page of American history, and that nothing subsequently said could alter their place in that history.

This is true today, Mr. President, as we honor one who wrote an unalterable page in our history during his lifetime of public service. I speak of our late colleague, the Honorable THOMAS C. HENNINGS, JR., of Missouri.

We here admired TOM HENNINGS' keeness of mind, purity of spirit, and sincere dedication to cause. Whether or not I agreed or disagreed with him personally on various issues, I valued his presence in this Chamber. For, in the very finest tradition of the Senate, he possessed the personal attributes of the great and near great who have so enriched this body.

TOM HENNINGS was a gentleman: This was to be seen in the very way he walked onto this floor—dignified in mien and courtly in bearing—soft-spoken and gentle, courteous to every colleague in his discussions of state and personal matters.

TOM HENNINGS was a scholar: None of us shall forget the wealth of his knowledge. We will always remember the penetrating depth of his arguments in speech and debate. Perhaps most noted as an authority on the Constitution, the scope of his intellect was such that he quickly perceived the essence of all problems he considered. He did not seek publicity, but the press often favored him. Richard Rovere,

writing in the New Yorker in 1959, paid him high tribute, saying:

> TOM HENNINGS might win by a landslide any vote taken here (in Washington) for the ablest and most intelligent U.S. Senator.

TOM HENNINGS was a statesman: Devoting the major part of his life to public service, he felt it was the noblest of careers. He wanted to serve, and as he liked to say: "I am not in politics as a dilettante, nor do I seek to go into government for the glamour or the excitement. I am too old for excursions." In this Senate, he gave us not only precept, but also example. He served hard and well as chairman of the Rules Committee, chairman of four Judiciary subcommittees, and as a member of many others. We who served with him 10 years here can state sincerely he served with honor as well as distinction.

TOM HENNINGS was a humanitarian: His hand was ever stretched forth to help others. Nowhere was his sympathetic nature more tellingly revealed than by his probings into the problems of juvenile delinquency and his constant concern with the rights of those too weak to speak for themselves. He was insistent that all citizens use and be granted the liberties guaranteed them by the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. How fitting that his last statement, dictated from the bed from which he never rose, concerned the right of any American, of any religion, to hold the highest office in the land.

TOM HENNINGS was a fighter: Against odds, wrongs, and injustices, TOM HENNINGS waged his own war, deploying his talents with courage and determination. He led the fight against attempts to curb the Supreme Court's power and against unjustified secrecy in government. He fought to pass a clean elections bill.

But perhaps his greatest fight was his last one, a fight against an implacable enemy that held certain victory in its diseased grasp. Cancer placed no fear in the great heart of TOM HENNINGS. I saw TOM just a month before he died. Death was all around the room, but defeat was not to be seen

or felt. He told me confidently: "Bob, I'll be back up there on the Hill before long." He is. For his spirit now speaks here in the self same, soft-spoken tones of yesterday as his presence is felt in our midst.

We cannot forget Tom Hennings. His contributions shall live on in our annals. His rich legacy shall endure throughout all our land, shared by all our citizens.

As it was spoken at Gettysburg: "The world will little note what we say here," but I say that America will not forget what Tom Hennings did here.

Nor in this tribute should we fail to pay special praise to Tom Hennings' great and dear wife, Elizabeth. Through the years she was always a tower of help, strength, and purpose, on whom he relied. And in his final days, when cancer sought to still his fighting heart, she was there, as always, to comfort and sustain him.

We think of her as we honor him, and we shall always cherish both.

Remarks by Senator Byrd

Of Virginia

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, it was my privilege to know TOM HENNINGS throughout his entire service in the Senate of the United States; and to know him was to esteem his friendship and respect his ability.

He was a man of remarkable facility for fusing the real with the ideal, and for blending vision with faith. He was a master of the practical matters of life, as well as its theory.

He was a warm friend; a man of excellent heart; a good citizen whose public life was dedicated to the public good. His character was marked by the gentleness of charity and the reserve of humility.

The high regard held for him by his associates in the legal profession is evidence of his great capabilities in the field of law, particularly in the area of constitutional law.

I was deeply impressed by his contributions on this subject. He was able simply and succinctly to distinguish between law as the protection of liberty, and decree which stirs rebellion.

He was a man with a meditative turn of thought; a lawyer with a strong and subtle talent for uniting facts with clear reasoning, and presenting them in convincing exposition.

He was a priest of his subject; he honored it with dignity; and he found great satisfaction in fighting for truth and justice. It was his nature to temper all things with kindness.

Few men have greater ability than TOM HENNINGS possessed to press their intellect, their wit, and their charm into fine public service both in his home State of Missouri and for his country at Washington.

He was a man with an attentive ear and vigilant eye; and, therefore, he possessed knowledge which allowed him to use his words sparingly but with maximum effect. When he spoke, he did so with the elevation of authority.

I shall always remember him as a man with tolerance for mental freedom, and I shall always treasure our reciprocal confidence and friendship. I pay tribute to his memory.

Remarks by Senator Kuchel

Of California

Mr. KUCHEL. Mr. President, the sweet words of the sainted Lincoln come to mind: "The mystic chords of memory swell within me."

The mystic chords of memory swell within the hearts of Senators on this occasion, as we recall a dear friend now departed, our extremely able late colleague, TOM HENNINGS, of Missouri. Through the years, I was pleased to call TOM HENNINGS my friend. I knew him quite intimately. TOM HENNINGS was a good friend, and a dear one. He was an excellent Senator for his State and for his country.

I saw him, with his keeness of perception, and his unique and valued experience as a lawyer, preside over highly important Senate committee hearings in which the public interest was deeply involved. I saw him elicit from witnesses, both friendly and hostile, the kind of answers and the sort of information which he was then able to use as he came to the Senate vigorously to champion the cause of liberty, justice, and decency in American government as he saw it.

Time and again, during my few years in the Senate, I sat in my seat listening to him as he undertook to champion the issues to which he had placed his name. On many of those occasions I found myself in complete agreement with his point of view; because TOM HENNINGS had a way of demonstrating to his fellow Senators not simply the sincerity which moved him to eloquence, but the truth and the logic which inspired him to leadership of just causes.

TOM HENNINGS did so many things so well. He had been a lawyer and a district attorney. He served his country with distinction in World War II as a naval officer. He was an excellent and an imposing Member of the House of Representatives, where he made a reputation for himself

which followed him through the years. That reputation was enhanced—indeed, it grew immeasurably—during his years in the Senate.

But, Mr. President, TOM HENNINGS was foremost and always a great champion of individual liberty. Whenever the pressures of modern life threatened freedom; wherever the unpopular were denied the right to speak, and speak forthrightly; whoever, no matter how highly placed, tried to still dissent, TOM HENNINGS was the first to make the cause of liberty his cause.

Mr. President, we in the U.S. Senate lost a close friend last September 13. The Nation lost a dedicated and wise voice. It is not good enough to say that THOMAS C. HENNINGS, JR., of Missouri, will be missed. He will be sorely and deeply missed.

Freedom, to our beloved colleague, TOM HENNINGS, was a broad, powerful, and all-inclusive doctrine. In an article entitled "The People's Right To Know," published in the American Bar Association Journal for July 1959, he wrote:

> Freedom of information about governmental affairs is an inherent and necessary part of our political system. Ours is a system of self-government—and self-government can work effectively only where the people have full access to information about what their government is doing.

Freedom, to TOM HENNINGS, Mr. President, was always for the people—whether it was their freedom to know, or their freedom to speak, or their freedom to dissent, or their freedom to organize.

In April 1960, in a publication of the New York Civil Liberties Union, entitled "The Challenge of the 1960's: Progress for Individual Rights," under the heading "Civil Liberties in New York," TOM HENNINGS wrote:

> In the first amendment (to the Constitution), we find the guide to representative government and a free and democratic society. Justice Cardozo once described the first amendment as "the matrix, the indispensable condition, of nearly every other form of freedom." It is my belief that it is a positive admonition to Americans urging us to debate, discuss and argue and indeed to

disagree; encouraging them to participate in diverse associations; admonishing them to constantly engage in free inquiry."

And, concluded TOM HENNINGS:

This I believe is the challenge of the 1960's. If we meet it, we need have little fear for our liberties or for the future of the Republic.

Thus, Mr. President, a gallant statesman, an able exponent of freedom, wrote his own epitaph. Even more, TOM HENNINGS has written for all Americans, for all times, an honorable code of honorable conduct in the public service to the people of the United States.

Remarks by Senator Engle

Of California

Mr. ENGLE. Mr. President, when TOM HENNINGS died, last September, the Los Angeles Times wrote that he "died before he could be spared."

The truth of those words will be felt for many years to come.

Surely in the years ahead there will be times when we shall be in great need of the unflinching courage and strength of TOM HENNINGS. There will be many times, in the years ahead, when we shall be sorely in need of the dogged persistence TOM HENNINGS showed when he brought death to the Bricker amendment and defeat to the numerous attempts to strike out at the Supreme Court, in reprisal for decisions supporting our civil liberties.

There will always be times when we shall need the brand of integrity of TOM HENNINGS. He scorned political expediency, in his consistent fight to protect the public against the efforts of the special interests.

Above all, in the years ahead, in the struggle to keep the world free from communism and dictatorship, there will be trying times when we shall miss the most the heart and the hand of TOM HENNINGS—for TOM HENNINGS was one on whom we could count unfailingly to keep alive and intact the ideals of freedom and democracy.

Remarks by Senator Young

Of Ohio

Mr. YOUNG. Mr. President, I shall always treasure the friendship of TOM HENNINGS. It first came to me while we were associated in the House of Representatives.

When this body was in adjournment, death came to this beloved and most respected Senator, a man whose memory will shine brightly and enduringly in the minds of all Americans who knew him and who were so ably served by him.

Indeed, Mr. President, I am sure that as we sit here today, each of us feels keenly and in a deeply personal sense the absence of our late colleague, Senator THOMAS HENNINGS. His was a magnificent and friendly personality.

It can truly be said of our beloved colleague that he lived with an abiding faith in the democratic process which he so zealously guarded, and, by doing so, provided, in these times of trial and torment, a ringing affirmation of our way of life.

A sense of calling and dedication to his office and the people he represented illumined his 10 years of fruitful service in the U.S. Senate.

TOM HENNINGS was my good, personal friend. All of us knew him as a warm and understanding human being, and, above all, as a fighter for the causes in which he believed.

He exemplified a spirit—far too rare today—of individual courage and conviction dictated by conscience, and an unfailing sense of duty.

In an era when the individual civil liberties of American citizens were under attack from many quarters, TOM HENNINGS dedicated himself to the defense of the liberties he cherished, and which he knew our forefathers had cherished and written into the Constitution of the United

States as an enduring monument to their belief in the rightness of individual freedom as a way of life.

To him, the Bill of Rights was more than 10 precepts to be dusted off annually for patriotic speeches, then packed away for another year. He knew the Bill of Rights was the breath of life to our democracy, and it was to these beliefs that he dedicated his own life.

He never wavered in his faith; and throughout 6 years in the House of Representatives, and 10 years in the Senate, he guarded and protected the basic liberties of his fellow Americans.

In war, as in peace, TOM HENNINGS fought for his America. He was elected district attorney of St. Louis in 1940. He volunteered for active duty in the U.S. Navy, 6 months before Pearl Harbor, and he served with distinction in combat until 1944, when physical disability required his discharge.

Mr. President, speaking for myself and, I am sure, for all others who knew TOM HENNINGS, I wish to say simply and most sincerely that he will be deeply missed, both as a friend and as a Senator.

I hope all of us will carry forward the flag he carried so bravely in behalf of the basic freedoms which are the heart and soul of America.

We mourn the passing of a truly great American.

Remarks by Senator Hickenlooper

Of Iowa

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. Mr. President, anyone who has heard the sincere, brilliant, and sympathetic words of praise and appreciation that have been spoken today on this floor with respect to TOM HENNINGS realizes the utter impossibility of equaling those tributes.

However, Mr. President, I think many of us would like, in all conscience, to add our testimonials of deep respect and admiration, not only for TOM HENNINGS as our friend, but also for TOM HENNINGS as a symbol of a freeman who stood for the things which he so well understood freedom to mean.

I know of no person who was more kindly, even in violent disagreement, than TOM HENNINGS.

I know of no one who would go further to accommodate, in every detail within the limits of his capabilities, and without violating or deviating from his principles, the wishes and desires of his associates.

I know of no one who saw more clearly the principles for which he stood. As has been so well said here today, he stood for the basic principles of human freedom under our American constitutional system, and he exemplified those principles constantly.

It was a sad period for all of us during the time when he was ill; and it was a period of mourning when we knew that he had died. But in his service in the Senate and in his associations with his colleagues, he left a stamp of respect that will remain to his honor, the honor of this body, and the honor of his family and his State.

The consistency with which he defended those principles, of which many Senators have spoken heretofore, is certainly outstanding.

THOMAS C. HENNINGS, JR.

I counted TOM HENNINGS among my friends, and I counted him among the outstanding leaders I have known in public life.

Mr. President, it is very true that very few of us agree on all subjects at all times; but it is true that, as times goes on, one comes across countless individuals for whom, even in disagreement, one retains the highest respect. TOM HENNINGS was that kind of an individual.

He has been missed in this body, and he will be missed.

Only one final word. I want to convey to his beautiful and delightful wife, Elizabeth, my sympathy and condolence, and that of Mrs. Hickenlooper. We hope that Mrs. Hennings can find solace in the esteem which today exists for TOM HENNINGS.

Remarks by Senator Curtis

Of Nebraska

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, there are many reasons why I wish to say something about the life and works of TOM HENNINGS. He represented a State adjoining the State which I have the honor in part to serve. In addition to that, TOM HENNINGS was a Member of the House of Representatives 23 years ago, when I was sworn in as a Member of that body. We have been friends ever since.

In more recent times, it was my privilege to serve in this body on a committee of which he was chairman. He served with distinction as chairman of the Senate Committee on Rules and Administration. He was always very courteous. He was considerate of every witness, of every member of the committee, of every staff member, and of every employee. He respected the views of others, regardless of whether or not those views coincided with his own.

TOM HENNINGS had a very unusual mind. He was a brilliant man, an able lawyer, a distinguished individual.

A great loss has been suffered not only by his family and the circle of friends most closely associated with him, but by his State and Nation. He was a man of great capabilities.

I wish to endorse all the other fine tributes that have been paid to him, and what has been said about him, and to extend to Mrs. Hennings and other loved ones my most sincere sympathy.

Remarks by Senator Case

Of South Dakota

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, it was my privilege to serve with TOM HENNINGS both in the House of Representatives and in this body. In his passing, the country lost one of its most courageous citizens and this body one of its most courageous Senators. TOM HENNINGS never hesitated to battle for his convictions, and anyone who took him on had to be ready for the devastating courtesy, and sharp thrusts which he used so skillfully.

We were not members of the same political party, but there was no Member of the Senate for whose opinions I came to have greater respect than those of TOM HENNINGS.

He came to the Senate after the election of 1950, as I did. During the 10 years we served here together, I found it was always worthwhile to consider the opinions that he expressed. He saw clearly the menace that might exist in certain areas where wealth might be accumulated and then be used with the hope to influence Members of this body in various hidden or unpublicized ways.

The last time I saw TOM HENNINGS we rode to the Senate Office Building on the subway train. I thought he looked better than he had for some months previously, and said so. From no part of his response did I get any indication of the kind of a battle he was then fighting. He said that he was going to take things easier, but gave the impression he was on the road to recovery from whatever illness he had had. There was no complaint, only courage.

The courage he showed at that time was typical of his conduct in the Senate.

I never saw him hesitate to take a stand to which his conscience and principles led him, no matter with whom he might be in conflict or how long the discussions would take.

He was unfailingly courteous to those with whose views he did not agree, and he expressed his opinions ably. He was a true servant of the common good and the cause of freedom.

Mrs. Case and our daughter, Jane, would wish to join me in expressing deep sympathy to Mrs. Hennings and his daughter, Sue, who is associated with our daughter in school.

Remarks by Senator Sparkman

Of Alabama

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I wish to join my colleagues who today are paying special tribute to our late colleague, TOM HENNINGS.

I had the pleasure of first knowing TOM HENNINGS when I entered the House of Representatives. He was a Member at the time. I served with him during the remaining years he stayed in the House of Representatives. I followed his career after he left the House, and still later, when he returned to the Congress, I had the privilege of serving with him in the Senate of the United States.

TOM HENNINGS was a person with a brilliant mind, as others have said today. He had a sharp, incisive way of going straight to the issue of the discussion. He was forceful in presenting his views. He was a man of conviction, a man of courage, a man of great courtesy. I have seen him engage in heated debate, but never reach the point that he was not most courteous to his antagonist, whoever it might be.

TOM was an able legislator. I was with him on different occasions attending meetings of the Interparliamentary Union in other parts of the world, and I saw his work there.

He was a man whom we could ill spare. As the Senator from California said, he went away from us when we could not spare him. We shall long miss him in this body. I shall long remember him as a very fine citizen, an able legislator, a man with brilliance of mind and force in the projection of his ideas to others.

I wish to extend the deepest sympathies both of Mrs. Sparkman and of myself to Mrs. Hennings and to his other loved ones.

Remarks by Senator Monroney

Of Oklahoma

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, I wish to join my colleagues today in expressing deep personal loss, and a feeling of great loss to the country, in the death of one of the brilliant Members of this body.

I first knew TOM HENNINGS when we came to the House of Representatives together in the 76th Congress in 1939. I again knew him when both of us were elected to the Senate in 1950. It was a pleasure to reunite in our service together in the upper chamber and to be closely associated through our many years of service. Our offices were only across the hall. We were neighbors. We were able to visit, to exchange our viewpoints, and to discuss mutual problems.

It was my privilege to serve on my first important committee in the Senate with TOM HENNINGS. It was the committee which was then investigating the McCarthy participation in the Tydings election. I found then, as I have always found later, TOM HENNINGS' dedication to duty to his country. His was a desire to carry forward his duty without regard to the consequences, to its popularity, or to any political liabilities which might be entailed in the following of a line of duty to its ultimate end.

I appreciated deeply his searching mind. He was always seeking, with his great legal training, for the facts and for all of the information available on any subject, before reaching a conclusion. Once he reached a conclusion, he went forward on his course.

I learned to appreciate his great courage in arriving at decisions and in facing up to problems, whether he was fighting almost singly or with the majority, in whatever test was involved.

I appreciated, as we all did, his great independence of action, his desire not to be of any definite opinion before he entered a case and knew all sides of the case, rather than permit anyone to persuade him against what he himself would find to be the proper course of action.

He was the kind of liberal leader we cannot spare at this time, because he did have great courage, regardless of any threats of political reprisal. He could stand alone, if necessary, to fight for the things in which he believed.

He was a great student of foreign affairs, and his contributions were many in this vital field, including the work he did so frequently on the Interparliamentary Union, his attendance at the conventions, and the contributions he made.

Above all, we are going to miss him in this body as one of the greatest constitutional lawyers who ever walked the floor of this Chamber. We have all seen him in the debates, and we all know his deep understanding and the force of his personality. This, among his many assets, was one of his great specialties.

In the last months of his life we realized his courage to fight on despite the tremendous handicaps he carried, with his declining health. We realized how he came to the Senate to cast important yea-and-nay votes, though he was not physically able to be present in the Chamber normally. He would go to the ultimate to be sure that his duty to cast his vote was done, so long as he was able to rise and to walk.

It is great sympathy we have for his wife and for his family, and we deeply regret his passing.

Remarks by Senator Javits

Of New York

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I, too, wish to pay my tribute to our departed colleague, Senator HENNINGS, under whom I served. He was the chairman of the Committee on Rules and Administration when I was a member of that committee.

As has already been said, he was a great lawyer and a distinguished man. He was a tremendously warm friend and a very interesting friend. This is something from which I hope his family will take solace: whenever anyone talked with Senator HENNINGS, he would always open the conversation by talking not about himself but rather about what the other person was doing and how he was getting along; and Senator HENNINGS would raise the question of whether anything was needed, and would ask what he could do about it.

He was always a man who had not only a liberal approach to public questions, as has been stated, but also a liberal mind. He was ready for new ideas and new ways of doing things.

I wish to here and now pay tribute to him for one of the most ingenious decisions I have seen made in the Congress. In my own case, in the Committee on Rules and Administration, I know he appointed a committee of two members to consider what we ought to do about rule XXII of the Senate, that hotly debated rule regarding filibusters. The two members were the Senator from Georgia [Mr. Talmadge], who was an ardent proponent of the rule and of making it stronger, if possible, and myself.

Mr. President, so great were the gifts of TOM HENNINGS that when we reported we did narrow, very materially, the grounds of difference. The reports were so sharply differentiated and the argument was so close that the vote in the

committee was 5 to 4. My side prevailed, but nonetheless the incident indicated the luminous mind and the ingenuity of TOM HENNINGS.

There is another thing which can be said about TOM HENNINGS on this floor, after there is stated the affection and respect in which he was held: He was beloved by his colleagues. This is probably the greatest tribute one can pay to any Senator.

Remarks by Senator Pastore

Of Rhode Island

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, a great Senator and a good friend is gone forever from this Senate Chamber. His rich, powerful, persuading voice is heard here no more. His genial smile, his ready handclasp, his hand resting upon one's shoulder—no one ever entered these Senate halls who bestowed upon it an air of greater cordiality than did TOM HENNINGS.

The cause here that had the Senator from Missouri as an ally was assured of a courageous, capable, constitutional, courteous advocate whose argument it was a delight to hear, an education of analyze, and a pleasure to accept.

A giant at labor, the column upon column his name would fill in the index of each session was a tribute to his industry, to the wide horizon of his interests; and their often tender nature was testimony to the human, lovable character of our colleague, who was a treasured friend. It all bespeaks the exalted patriotism of this good American whom we shall always remember.

I would recall a poem TOM HENNINGS recited—dedicated to good Americans—to the unknown soldiers as they rested in the Capitol's rotunda—and I borrow lines from that poem to close this tribute to TOM HENNINGS.

We breathe a last prayer
For God in heaven
To give him His care.

Remarks by Senator Keating

Of New York

Mr. KEATING. Mr. President, it seems eminently fitting that the colleagues and friends of TOM HENNINGS should set aside a day to give these tributes of remembrance to him, because in the best sense of the word he was a man to remember. It was my high privilege to serve with him on both the Committee on the Judiciary and the Rules Committee, of which he was the chairman. In the field of legislation we often stood shoulder to shoulder on the same side, and not infrequently we differed and stood on opposite sides on issues which came before us. But in all instances one was bound to respect the forceful fighting qualities of TOM HENNINGS and also his great courtesy—particularly those who disagreed with him.

In particular I feel we should cite, as other Senators have done, the gallant and admirable fight which he made in behalf of the so-called clean elections bill, a fight to which I was very proud to commit myself fully. He was able in intellect, vigorous in debate, and dedicated in mind and heart. He has left to each of us, his fellow Members of the Senate, a legacy which time cannot efface. He has enriched the Senate by his many years of service here. He has given added luster to the name each one of us proudly bears—U.S. Senator.

On a personal note, it is my desire to extend my deepest sympathy to his wife, Elizabeth, and to all his family, and to say to them what they must realize that their grief can be largely assuaged by a recollection of a truly notable figure both in his State and in the Nation.

Remarks by Senator Magnuson

Of Washington

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, no one can subscribe more devotedly or wholeheartedly to what has been said about TOM HENNINGS by other Senators than can I. No doubt he will be remembered in the history of the Senate and the House as one of the finest constitutional lawyers we have ever encountered. I do not recall a time when I had a legal problem with respect to the constitutionality of proposed legislation that I did not call upon TOM HENNINGS for his advice.

He would have been a great judge if he had been appointed a judge, because he had a deep devotion to the principles of the Constitution, and an ability to make clear in everyday language the meaning of its provisions.

I remember him more, however, as a friend. TOM HENNINGS and I both came to Congress as young men. We were both new, and we lived next door to each other for several years, until he decided to go back to his home county and become the district attorney.

I saw him later during the war years. He served in the Navy, as I did, and on returning to the Senate, no one was more happy than I was to see TOM HENNINGS.

So all of us will miss him for his great qualities, his great energy, and his keen mind. But I will miss him, too, as an old friend. I extend my sympathy to his family and his loved ones.

Remarks by Senator McNamara

Of Michigan

Mr. McNAMARA. Mr. President, so much has been said here in honor of Senator THOMAS C. HENNINGS, JR., with respect to the services which he performed for the Nation as a whole, that there is little I can add. However, I would add that though he was concerned with the problem of all the people, he seemed to be especially devoted to the cause of the underprivileged and the minority groups of our Nation. It was an honor and a privilege for me to be able to serve with TOM HENNINGS in the U.S. Senate. We all looked to his keen mind and his experience to guide us in a number of areas. As we embark now upon a new era, these attributes will be sorely missed.

I close by expressing my deep sympathy for his parents, for his wife, and the rest of his family, at the untimely passing of this great and distinguished American.

Remarks by Senator Muskie

Of Maine

Mr. MUSKIE. Mr. President, it was not my privilege to know TOM HENNINGS long or to know him intimately. Our careers in the Senate overlapped for too short a time to permit that.

Nevertheless, in common with all his colleagues, I came to admire him, to respect him as a man of sound abilities with a firm and courageous dedication to principle. I had looked forward to the possibility of a growing and deepening personal relationship with him.

The public service in a democracy attracts men of widely differing backgrounds, talents, and personalities. In almost infinite variations, they make their contributions and their impacts; and the sum total has been ever more vigorous and vital democratic institutions, better equipped to serve the needs of our country and our times. Underlying this great diversity, however, the perspective of history discloses some qualities that are more indispensable than others if leadership in a democracy is truly to measure up to the test which constantly confronts us.

One of these is a deep-seated belief that the people are capable of governing wisely; that they are capable of participating constructively in the decision-making processes of government; and that race, color, and creed do not reduce this capability. TOM HENNINGS shared this belief.

Another is the ability to see and understand public problems in their true dimensions. TOM HENNINGS could cut through to the core of a problem about as quickly as any man I ever knew.

Still another quality of leadership is the ability to devise imaginative but practical solutions to problems. We have all seen samples of TOM'S handiwork. His abilities in this

respect brought comfort to those enlisted in the same cause and frustration to those who were not.

And we must not overlook the qualities of intellectual honesty and moral courage. Tom was not one to shrink from the conclusions which his study and analysis of a problem indicated. He was not one to be afraid of the political consequences of an unpopular stand.

And so I respected him. And for these, as well as personal reasons, I shall miss him.

Remarks by Senator Smathers

Of Florida

Mr. SMATHERS. Mr. President, there is obviously little that can be added to what has already been stated with respect to our regret at the untimely passing of the able Senator from Missouri, TOM HENNINGS. I merely wish to echo the sentiments already expressed and add that, like others, I had come to know TOM HENNINGS over the course of 12 years of service with him. Like others, I learned to see TOM HENNINGS as a great American, a great patriot, a man of outstanding ability, and one possessed of a particularly perceptive legal mind. But, most of all, he was a man who had the great characteristic of friendliness and warmth in his approach to his colleagues.

I used to talk with him in the afternoons, as many of us did, in a certain area of the Capitol; and never in my experience have I been privileged to talk on a warmer personal basis with any man than I did with TOM HENNINGS. Like others, I have come to know his very wonderful wife. I know his passing has been a tremendous blow to her. Like others, I wish to extend my sympathy to her and to his family. All of us realize that TOM HENNINGS' death is a great loss to his family, his friends, his State, and his Nation. Surely he shall be long remembered and deeply grieved.

Remarks by Senator Jackson

Of Washington

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. President, there is very little I can add to the able remarks which have been made this afternoon regarding our late colleague, Senator THOMAS HENNINGS.

We all knew him as a great and skillful lawyer. He was an outstanding authority on the Constitution. He was devoted to civil liberties and over the years he stiffened the will of the Senate to protect important civil rights.

Senator HENNINGS was a fair, just and honorable man. At all times, on the floor of the Senate or when presiding as chairman of his committee, he went to great pains to see to it that all Senators had an opportunity to state their point of view.

And, above all, he was a kindly, gentle man of great good nature.

We in the Senate have already missed him as a distinguished lawyer, an outstanding statesman and a stalwart friend. I express to his family my deepest sympathy.

Remarks by Senator Beall

Of Maryland

Mr. BEALL. Mr. President, the death of Senator THOMAS C. HENNINGS, JR., was a double loss for me. In the first place, it grieved me deeply as a U.S. Senator to see the Nation lose the services of such a knowledgeable and dedicated individual. More personally though, it was a great shock for me to lose such a close friend.

I first met TOM HENNINGS shortly after I entered the House of Representatives in the 78th Congress and, from that day, I always found him to be kind, courteous and sincere. His work in behalf of his constituents and the Nation as a whole will be long remembered, and I join with my other colleagues in expressing my deepest sympathy to his family.

Remarks by Senator Kefauver

Of Tennessee

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, on September 13, 1960, a few days after sine die adjournment of the 86th Congress, death removed from our midst a great American and a close friend of many of us here, Senator THOMAS C. HENNINGS, JR., of Missouri.

Surely the loss felt by his family and his associates is deep. The Nation has equal cause to grieve, because it has been denied further benefits of his keen mind, his forceful character and his noble purpose.

It is not enough to say that TOM HENNINGS was a distinguished Senator. He was that, in the purest sense, and much more: Indeed, he was one of the most effective champions of true individual liberty in this century; a stout foe against those who abused freedom in freedom's name; and a steadfast advocate for those whose freedom was abused.

A eulogist of another time observed:

> The evil that men do lives after them; the good is oft interred with their bones.

If this is a rule, then TOM HENNINGS was a notable exception. Long after the memory of his name may have faded, Americans will still be enjoying the fruits of his courageous labors.

Providence must have fitted him for his highest call to duty. Thirty years ago, as an assistant prosecutor in his native St. Louis, he viewed the ebb and flow of convictions and acquittals not with impersonal detachment. Rather, he became endowed with a humane concern that equal justice prevail where the State's tremendous resources may become weighted against those of the accused.

Thus was he made ready for the task he was called upon a quarter-century later to undertake; the task, as chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights, of reidentifying and redefining the fundamental liberties of a people made confused and fearful by the wild trumpetings of misnamed fighters for freedom.

When the need for a true definition of loyalty arose; when tyranny threatened in any guise—in the excesses of civil and military authority or of ministerial agencies at home or abroad—Tom Hennings spoke out, and the offenders heeled.

Even on his deathbed, Tom Hennings was rallying the national conscience. Shortly before he passed away, he dictated a message to the chairman of the Democratic Party of Missouri which, in the light of later events, stands as a monument to his faith in the durability of Jeffersonian doctrine, our constitutional principles and the goodness of the American will.

One passage in this testament, I believe, best summarizes the philosophy that guided his actions in life.

I have found—

He wrote—

that the greatest protection for our rights and freedoms lies in the hands of our people and in the manner in which they exercise these rights. Had I the power to persuade the acceptance of a cardinal principle to guide us in this respect, it would be: Do not use these rights to abuse the rights of others.

In a passage more specifically related to the problem then at hand, religious prejudice in the presidential campaign, he affirmed:

I have faith in my fellow citizens, an unshakable faith in their determination and ability to seek and find the truth behind any issue before expressing their ultimate opinion at the polls. I have faith that false issues will be discarded and that the true ones will be faced with calm appraisal and solved only on the basis of proper consideration and intelligent reasoning. I have faith that unwarranted emotionalism and prejudice will be cast aside as sores which beget only solutions for which posterity may sadly pay and long suffer.

Lastly—

He concluded—

I have faith and every confidence that our great Democratic Party, founded on truth and consistently the bearer of truth, will elect its candidates in our State and on a National level, and will present this Nation with its next President of the United States.

Tom Hennings did not live to see his prophecy fulfilled. That the prophecy was accurate is of less importance than the measure of the faith which inspired it. We who yet live cannot do less than to dedicate ourselves to the task of keeping that faith alive.

Remarks by Senator Hill

Of Alabama

Mr. HILL. Mr. President, I deeply regret that I was unable to be here to join with a number of my colleagues on last Friday in paying tribute to the memory of the late THOMAS HENNINGS of Missouri. I want to take this opportunity to associate myself with the many heartfelt statements and tributes so eloquently spoken here on that occasion.

All who heard the moving and sincere testimonials of his former friends and colleagues know the esteem and devotion in which TOM HENNINGS was held by those who worked side by side with him through the years. All who read those words of tribute and of friendship in the Record know that TOM HENNINGS was indeed a man of character and conscience, a leader of courage and conviction.

It was my privilege to serve with TOM HENNINGS for many years in the Congress of the United States, first in the House and then in the Senate. He was my closest neighbor when we both had our offices on the fourth floor of the Old Senate Office Building. And through the years he was to me as close a friend as a neighbor. He was ever generous, thoughtful, and kind.

Throughout his public career, TOM HENNINGS was a leader in behalf of government without secrecy. He was a champion of the people's right to know. He was the relentless enemy of corruption in public affairs. He was a valiant leader in the battle against juvenile delinquency. He was a devoted patriot, an outstanding legislator, a brilliant lawyer, a dedicated public servant, a great American and ever the humanitarian.

Above all, he was a fighter for his ideals and his beliefs and always eloquent and formidable in debate.

THOMAS C. HENNINGS, JR.

No more will THOMAS HENNINGS walk this Chamber and we sorely miss his presence here. But we have with us still and will always have the example of his service, the inspiration of his life, and the benediction of his memory.

I sadly but proudly join in paying tribute to the memory of a distinguished and beloved colleague and my good and loyal friend—one of the Horatios of this world.

Proceedings
in the
House of Representatives

Proceedings in the House

TUESDAY, *January 3, 1961.*

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, I offer a resolution and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution (H. Res. 20) as follows:

Resolved, That the House has heard with profound sorrow of the death of the Honorable THOMAS C. HENNINGS, JR., a Senator of the United States from the State of Missouri.

Resolved, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased Senator.

The resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 2 o'clock and 30 minutes p.m.), the House adjourned until tomorrow, Wednesday, January 4, 1961, at 12 o'clock noon.

WEDNESDAY, *January 4, 1961.*

A message from the Senate by Mr. Carrell, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed the following resolution (S. Res. 7):

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow and deep regret the announcement of the death of the Honorable THOMAS C. HENNINGS, JR., late a Senator from the State of Missouri.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased the Senate, at the conclusion of its business today, do adjourn.

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